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Canne, John, d. 1667?
A necessity of separation
from the Church of England

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A
NECESSITY OF SEPARATION

FROM THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

A

NECESSITY OF SEPARATION

FROM THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

PROVED BY THE NONCONFORMISTS' PRINCIPLES.

BY JOHN CANNE,

PASTOR OF THE ANCIENT ENGLISH CHURCH IN AMSTERDAM.

EDITED FOR

The Hanserd Knollys Society,

BY THE

REV. CHARLES STOVEL.

LONDON:

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1849.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IN preparing this work for press, every thing supplied by the Editor has been placed in brackets. These have also been used where numeral adverbs are inserted instead of figures, as well as where they have been supplied to complete the arrangement. Every reference to pages, both in the margin and in the notes, reads with the original pagination, which is bracketed in the margin. The conjecture on p. xxiv. of the Introductory Notice, that Canne was in Hull in or before 1657, has been proved by a copy of his "Truth with Time," dated "from Hull, 1656," which is now in the Editor's library. The library signatures, and list of works referred to in preparing this edition of Canne's work on Separation, are given at pp. cxii. and cxiii. of the Introductory Notice.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTICE.

SECTION I.

THE AUTHOR—HIS PRINCIPLES AND WRITINGS.

THE “Necessity of Separation,” &c. was printed and published in Amsterdam; and, in 1634, when it issued from the press, it could have appeared in England only in the character of a prohibited volume. The author was then spending his first banishment of “seventeen years” for the truth’s sake in that city, and calls himself “*Pastor of the Ancient English Church in Amsterdam.*” His character, through a long life, as far as it can now be ascertained, commanded respect even from his adversaries; and his work, reprinted in this volume, deserves a most careful study on two accounts—first, because the separation it urges is as needful and obligatory now as it was at any former period; and, secondly, because the arguments by which that separation is here enforced, disclose the nature of those exertions, pleadings, and sufferings, to which the reader is indebted for the privileges he enjoys. Every hour which is now peacefully employed in studying the arguments of this work, has, in no superficial sense, been redeemed from bitter persecution, by the sufferings, the perseverance, and the unimpeachable integrity of its author.

Such absolute subjection, as is here presented, to any rule of Christian fellowship will, at the present time, to many readers, appear extravagant; but these brethren will learn,

and they are bound to consider, that the necessity for separation which Canne pleaded, was, in his view, "*proved by the Nonconformist principles.*" The Nonconformists laid down and attested the facts; our author drew the inference: and, when from the premises so obtained, he had shown the conclusion to be incontestably clear and just, he sets forth the additional fact, that this conclusion for separating from the Church of England, formed, in their own case, the only expedient authorized by the instructions of holy scripture, and the only one which offered a rational hope of deliverance from their manifold and afflictive grievances.

The motive which influenced the mind of Canne, and those who united with him in his holy conflict, is well enough expressed in his own motto: "*If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.*" It pleased the Lord to teach these men that a truth neglected is a truth lost; and, that the loss of truth by neglect, whatever the present inducement, must ever before God be attended with inexcusable guiltiness. Nothing can be more binding on mankind than a careful observance of what are known to be divine instructions. Infinite Wisdom has condescended to superinduce upon physical and vital existence the system of revelation, that thereby, whatever is rational and moral upon earth may, by the instructions so received, combine its movements with those of Deity, and bring its personal and relative felicities and interests within the government and protection of God. The truth, which was designed to accomplish this result, demands obedience before that result can be obtained. He never can be wise, or good, or happy, or within the circle of divine and covenanted fellowship and protection, who knows an intimation of Eternal Wisdom and will not follow it.

On this fearful fact, that they held and taught a great mass of truth to which they did not adhere in practice, Canne founded his fraternal but cogent appeals to the Nonconformists of his time, and his fearless demonstration of that fact from their own publications, provoked much of that acrimony with which the man himself, as well as his writings, has been

treated. His various and extensive learning rendered him, in his opposition to their compromise, an adversary to be dreaded. His works were read, and they became powerfully influential over unprejudiced minds. His arguments, drawn from their own writings, the Nonconformists were unable to refute. The only way for escape open to those who were unwilling to submit under his appeal to their consciences, remained in that expedient which labours, by abusing the author of reasonings which could not be answered, and by misrepresenting his writings, to prevent, as far as possible, their being read. Hence, in the answers to his books, and in the pamphlets of his day, every kind of opprobrious mis-statements so abounds, and his return to his object is so constant and so daring, that he seems to have communed with the oracle that said to Jeremiah, "Thou, therefore, gird up thy loins, and arise, and speak unto them all that I command thee: be not dismayed at their faces, lest I confound thee before them; for behold, I have made thee this day a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and brazen walls against the whole land." Jer. i. 17, 18.

Some feelings evinced by Nonconformists and the high Church party may, possibly, be found in the position which Canne formerly occupied in the Church of England. He was educated, though we cannot learn where, and had been a minister, in the Established Church.¹ His charge in Amsterdam is designated, "The ancient English Church in Amsterdam." This could scarcely be the title of any Brownist congregation, said to be formed there in 1600, when Johnson became its pastor, and Ainsworth its teacher. John Canne became its pastor after 1622, when this community² could not have been justly called "The ancient English Church," it being only twenty-two years of age. It had the same designation in 1617, when the new constitution was only seventeen years of age. In fact, the great centres of com-

¹ Ivimey, vol. ii. p. 525, *note*. Crosby, vol. iii. p. 38.

² Neal, vol. i. p. 420. Steven's History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam, p. 270.

merce were, through the influence of our merchants, occupied by churches in which they worshipped when abroad, and in which, through their liberality, the advocates of truth, when troubled by commissions at home, obtained a refuge from persecution, in which they conformed to scripture without formally withdrawing from the hierarchy. Thus Tyndale was protected at Antwerp, Dr. Ames at the Hague, Robert Parker, Mr. Potts, and others, at Amsterdam, and Forbes at Rotterdam. Of those here named, Parker and Ames were persons to whose concessions Canne appeals in his *Necessity for Separation*. They did not separate therefore, and Canne, at first, does not appear to have been separated. The ancient English Church at Amsterdam was, in fact, part of the Church of England; and Canne's station in it, and at home, would give him the deepest interest and the fullest insight into her proceedings and those of her reformers. When he produced his ultimate proposition, therefore, it was with an advantage, in knowledge and practical experience, which Ames and Parker, his fellow refugees, were unable to despise.

The position of Ames, Parker, Bradshaw, and others, was exceedingly critical; and this might give a greater earnestness, if not acrimony, to the treatment of Canne. It was without any intention to forsake the Church that they took part with Puritans, and pleaded for reformation. The Nonconformists designed to urge only what they hoped to obtain;—and, to chastise, with severity, one of their own number who wished to force them on to absolute separation, had, as they thought, an air of candour in it; it gave them still the character of friends and defenders of that hierarchy to whose obnoxious decrees they refused subjection. By this they seemed to defend and conciliate their high Church opponents. Canne, therefore, was the sacrificial victim, and he must be offered up by them, as a whole burnt offering, at the shrine of those "*gods*" whom they wished to propitiate.

However fervent and decided Canne may appear, in his reasoning, a skilful discretion is exercised, both in choosing his position and in conducting his argument, which must have

been additionally vexatious to all who were labouring to secure his defeat. Resting his argument for the separation he urged on their own principles, as stated by the Nonconformists in their own writings, he crushed them with what they themselves had advanced in print, and gave them no choice except that of proving their own statements, and thus supporting his conclusion, or that of relinquishing all claim to respect by falsifying their own affirmations. The latter of these alternatives also was not left in their power; for he says, "We believe their principles to be true, and if there be no Nonconformist that will defend them, *we* will;" and every opponent of John Canne knew that he would not defend any principles of the Nonconformists by halves, nor fail to derive from them their legitimate result. Truths in his hand were like lance-blades in a cupping instrument, they entered the whole length of their steel.

Dr. Burgess and others had maintained, against the Nonconformists, that the principles they laid down against the Church of England lead to separation; and, therefore, if they were true to their own grounds, they should not communicate in the church assemblies of England: this by Dr. Ames was utterly denied. Canne says, "Now which of these two "doctors in this thing have the truth, I hope it shall evidently "be declared in this treatise following." This hope was not vain. His treatise on the "Necessity for Separation," does show that Dr. Burgess is right in affirming this to be the legitimate result of the principles laid down by Dr. Ames and his brethren; but in proving, against Dr. Ames, that Burgess is right, Canne explodes, from its very foundation, the whole theory of that establishment to which they both adhered.

It is only a natural consequence that such a man, in such an argument, should bring down upon himself all the force that could be used by both the parties, until they were convinced and brought on his side. This, too, was the fact. In more cases than one their warlike operations against each other were suspended, that this advocate for truth, who

obtruded on their contest, might be spurned from their honourable contention. To beat each other for the Church inheritance was a luxury they would keep to themselves; to be beaten by a separatist, and lose the object of their whole contention, was not included in their design. The thought of such a consequence was to be abhorred. Canne therefore was assailed by both parties with vituperation, the coarseness and injustice of which would scarcely be credited by any who do not study the literature of those times. Both the parties have thus declared that their cause was bad, by proving that this one advocate for truthful consistency was incompatible with the safety of either.

It must also be considered, that Canne was not alone in this conflict. The chief combatants of the former age had entered their final inheritance. Hooker died October 26, 1600. Elizabeth followed him, March 24th, 1602-3. John Cartwright terminated his sufferings and labour, December 27th, 1603. The Hampton Court Conference met January 12th, 1603-4; and Whitgift could persecute no more after February 29, 1603-4. So soon had all these great antagonists passed from judging each other to be judged of God. Their deaths unquestionably changed the field, and the cause of reformation suffered from Cartwright's decease, but his works remained, and were most extensively studied. Roger Williams, also, though dwelling now in lands beyond the sea, was yet exerting no ordinary influence over religious society in England. Milton was born in 1608, and in 1640 had reached the prime of his life. Hampden was upon the earth then. Cromwell, Vane, and their companions were extant; and John Canne had not only entered on the steadfast labour of his life, and felt the pressure of persecution, in 1640-1, when the Long Parliament began its sittings, he had already sustained the steeling influence of "seventeen years" spent in banishment. When introduced to us in the Broadmead Records, at Easter, after 1640, that is, April the 25th, 1641, he appears to have been received as a man who was well known, and eminently respected. His conduct in the

formation of that church, and the labours which followed, reveal the actings of a mind familiarized with danger, chastened to discretion, but deeply moved in favour of a cause he must have loved. When he could gain access to the public place of worship he used it; and when driven out because he was “a baptist”—“*a baptized man*”—he retired to the Green,—meeting the opponents by reasonings not to be refuted, and, everywhere, speaking with fervour and effect to an awakened empire.

Many things concur to show the timely character of Canne’s exertions, and the readiness with which multitudes responded to his reasonings. From the publication of Tyndale’s translation of the New Testament in 1525, to this period, 1640–1, through the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward, Mary, Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I., under all the political changes that took place, in dominant parties, and those who laboured for the ascendancy, the reading of holy scripture had continually extended among the people, and constantly exerted an increasing influence on the public mind. Multitudes were convinced that the English Established Church was not conformed to divine law; and, therefore, not sustained by divine authority. Church government became the national study, and, in its investigation, some made more and others a less advance towards completeness of view and repose of judgment. Without separating from the Establishment, in many places, individuals had met for worship in the churches, or in private houses, as they were able. The case of Bristol forms merely a recorded illustration of what was taking place in many other centres of population. Men were every where inquiring for the truth. When Canne visited Bristol, met Mrs. Hazard and her friends, and showed to them the duty not only of separating from a corrupted church, but also of organizing one conformable to divine law, they were prepared to act upon his instructions. Hence the formation of the Broadmead church. In like manner people were prepared in other places to follow the truth, when once the last element of conviction shone over the path of their duty. In

1655, fourteen years after Canne had visited Bristol, and formed the first church there, twenty-three places in Somerset, Wilts, Dorset, and Devon, had similar congregations adhering to the truth, and signing a common confession of faith.³ In that year Henry Jessey, "who was invited by " the saints in Bristol to assist them in regulating their congregations, visited also in this journey the congregations at " Wells, Cirencester, Somerton, Chard, Taunton, Honiton, " Exeter, Dartmouth, Plymouth, Lyme, Weymouth, and " Dorchester." These results show that the public mind was prepared for the event; and not only was this preparation visible in the middle and lower orders, and in distant parts of the empire: the following example, which occurred in London in 1640-1, proves that the same process was advancing in the metropolis, and amongst the highest orders of society. The opponents of Canne therefore felt that not only the character of the man, but also the state of society at the time, made it inevitable that either he must be deprived of his moral power, or his sentiments would come to be received.

The probability is that Canne remained in the west of England some considerable time. "On a Lord's day following" the formation of the Broadmead church, he preached at Westerleigh, about seven miles from this city, upon the Green, the church being closed against him because he was a baptist, and there he disputed with Mr. Fowler, proving the necessity for separation from the hierarchy. This was after the Easter which followed the transactions in 1640, which preceded his coming to Bristol; that is to say, after April the 25th, 1641. We have no further intimation of his labours that can be taken as authority; but on January the 18th, 1640-1, which from the Journal of the House of Lords would seem to be mistaken for the 10th, a meeting was holden in Southwark, which is thus recorded.

The following entries, copied from the Lords' Journal, not only determine the date, but show also that this meeting was *not the only* one of this kind holden at that time.

³ Ivimey, vol. ii. p. 522.

“Die Sabbati *videlicet* 16^o die Januarii, 1640-1.

The Lord Privy Seal, by command from his Majesty, presented to the House a paper, which was lately delivered to his Majesty, which he commended to the justice of the House to consider of. The contents of the paper was read *in hæc verba* :

“Anabaptists recommended to the justice of the House by his Majesty.”

“Decima Tertia Die Januarii, 1640-1.

<i>Edm. Chillendon,</i> ‘<i>Nic. Tyne,</i> ‘<i>John Webb,</i> ‘<i>Richard Sturges,</i> ‘<i>Thomas Gunn,</i> ‘<i>Jo. Ellis,</i> with at least sixty people more.	}	They were all taken on Sunday last, in the Afternoon, in the time of Divine Service, by the constables and Churchwardens of Snt. Saviour’s, in the house of Richard Sturges ; where they said they met to teach and edify one another in Christ.
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‘1. They being brought before Sir *John Lenthall*, he demanded why they would not go and resort to their own Parish Church, according to the law of 35^o Eliz. They answered, That the law of 35^o Eliz. was not a true law, for that it was made by the Bishops, and that they would not obey it. Their tenets.

‘2. That they would not go to their Parish Churches : That those Churches were not true Churches : and that there was no true Church but where the faithful met.

‘3. That the King could not make a perfect law, for that he was not a perfect man.

‘4. That they ought not to obey him but in civil things.

‘5. That some of them threatened the Churchwardens and Constables, that they had not yet answered for this day’s work.

‘JOHN LENTHALL, THO. BUTLER, *Churchwardens.*

THO. TEMPLE, JOHN LUNTLEY.’

Hereupon it was ORDERED, that Sir *John Lenthall* do take care that the aforesaid persons be forthcoming, and appear before this House on *Monday* morning next ; and likewise, that he cause the Constable, the Churchwardens, and whosoever else can testify anything in this business, to attend the same time here. Order to keep them in safe custody.

Order about
Common Prayer
and service in
the Church.

Upon this occasion, the House thought fit, and ORDERED, That this order following should be read publickly in all the Parish Churches of *London* and *Westm.*, the Borough of *Southwark*, and the Liberties and Suburbs of them.

‘ That the Divine Service be performed as it is appointed by the ‘ Acts of Parliament of this Realm ; and that all such as shall ‘ disturb that wholesome Order, shall be severely punished, accord- ‘ ing to law ; and that the Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, in several ‘ Parishes, shall forbear to introduce any Rites or Ceremonies that ‘ may give offence, otherwise than those which are established by ‘ the laws of the land.’

“ Die Lunæ *videlicet* 18^o die Januarii.

Thanks given
by the King
about the secta-
ries.

The Lord Privy Seal, Earls, Marshals, and Lord Chamberlain, gave the House thanks from His Majesty, for the course they had taken concerning the sectaries.

And *Edmund Chillendon*, *Nic. Tyne*, *John Webb*, *Richard Sturges*, *Tho. Gunn*, *Jo. Ellis*, being brought by order of this House, were called severally in, all of them denying the material things which they were charged with. Hereupon, Sir *Jo. Lenthall*, *Tho. Temple*, *Tho. Buller*, and *John Luntley*, were sworn : and upon their oath, did justify that what was contained and subscribed by them, in the paper delivered, was true.

Thereupon the House did Order, That the said Sectaries should receive, for this time, an Admonition from this House, that they shall hereafter repair to their several Parish Churches, to hear Divine Service, and to give obedience thereunto, according to the Acts of Parliament of this realm ; to that purpose the Order was read unto them, made by this House, the 16th of January, 1640-1 ; and to be told that, if hereafter they do not observe these Commands, they shall be severely punished, according to the law.”

“ Die Martis *videlicet* 19^o die Januarii.

Petition of the
persons in the
New Prisons.

After this was read, the Petition of divers of the Prisoners in the New Prison : showing, That they were on a *Sunday* assembled together in a peaceable manner, in prayer, and were violently assailed by divers deoboist and rude persons ; who, by the command of Justice *Gibbs*, in *Whitechapple*,

furiously beat and broke in pieces the door upon them, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this land, not showing them any warrant for so doing, though the Petitioners did demand it of them ; and, with Swords, Halberts, and Clubs, violently entered the House, encouraging thereby many scores of persons to beat down the Windows with Stones, to the wounding of a Young Child, to the Effusion of much blood, etc. Also one *Reynolds*, threatened one of the Petitioners to cut his throat, etc. Further the Prisoners set forth, That hereupon they are imprisoned, and indicted, and proceeded against, contrary to Law and Justice, as they conceive ; for redress whereof, they desire that the Equity of their cause may be examined, and receive a speedy Deliverance and Repair from their wrongful and vexatious Troubles, etc. Hereupon it was ORDERED, That the said Mr. Justice *Gibbs*, and the Prisoners mentioned in the Petition, shall appear here to-morrow Morning, at Eight of the clock, and the Prisoners to be released upon Bail, to attend their cause ; for which purpose they are to attend the Lords Committees this afternoon, and the Lords will consider what Bail is fit to be taken therein."

"Die Jovis *videlicet* 21^o die Januarii.

Prisoners in
the New Prison,
left to the ordi-
nary proceedings
of justice.

According to an Order of the 19th of this Month, Mr. Justice *Gibbs* and the Prisoners in the New Prison did attend this House ; and the Petition being read, Mr. *Gibbs* gave this answer to it.

'That there being a Great Uproar in the Street, and a great
'concourse of people gathered together, who set upon the Constables
'and Officers, with Clubs, Knives, and other Weapons, to the
'wounding and hurting of some People, the Constable and
'Churchwardens coming unto him (being the next Justice of the
'Peace), and acquainted him therewith, he came in Person, as he
'conceived himself bound to do ; and upon view of a Multitude of
'People, he wished them to depart ; and, for the preservation of
'the House wherein they, the Petitioners, were, he caused his own
'men, the Constables, and the Churchwardens, to go into the House ;
'and, after the concourse of People were dispersed, upon Search in
'the said House, he found divers Persons gathered together ; and
'he, being informed they were Sectaries, did examine them when
'they did receive the Communion in the Parish Church. They
'said, They had not a long Time, neither would they. After this,

‘for the present, he committed them to Prison ; and, the Sessions immediately following, he acquainted the Justices what he had done, which the Justices approving of, gave order for their indictments according to law.’

Hereupon the House did order, That the Petitioners be left to the Ordinary Proceedings of Justice, according to the course of law.”

It would seem from these entries that the meeting at Sturges’ house, called the meeting house in Deadman’s Place, was holden on Sunday the 10th of January, 1640–1. The deposition of their *examination* is dated January 13th, 1640–1. They were before the Lords on the 16th of January, 1640–1. On the 17th of January, 1640–1, another meeting was holden in Whitechapel, and broken up by Justice *Gibbs*. On the 18th, the prisoners from Sturges’ house in Southwark were brought before the House of Lords, and admonished. On Tuesday, the 19th of January, 1640–1, a petition from the prisoners taken in Whitechapel was read before the Lords ; and, on the 21st of January, 1640–1, on the appearance and defence of Justice *Gibbs* before the House of Lords, the prisoners from Whitechapel were consigned to “*the ordinary proceedings of justice, according to the course of law.*”

Fuller may have confounded one of these meetings with another, and hence his record reads, “This day, January 18th, 1640–1, happened the first fruits of anabaptistical insolence, when eighty (sixty) of that sect, meeting at a house in St. Saviour’s, in Southwark, preached that the statute in the 35th of Elizabeth, for the administration of the Common Prayer, was no good law, because made by bishops ; that the king cannot make a good law, because not perfectly regenerate ; that he was only to be obeyed in civil matters. Being brought before the Lords, they confessed the articles, but no penalty was inflicted upon them.”⁴ This is part, but not the whole of the truth, respecting this case. “The Lords examined them strictly concerning their

⁴ Fuller’s Church History, vol. iii. p. 412.

“principles; and they as freely acknowledged that they owned no other head of the church but Jesus Christ; that no prince had power to make laws to bind the consciences of men; and that laws made contrary to the law of God were of no force. As things now stood, the Lords would by no means discountenance these principles, and, therefore, instead of inflicting any penalty, they treated them with a great deal of respect and civility; and some of the house inquired where the place of their meeting was, and intimated that they would come and hear them. And accordingly three or four of the *peers* did go to their meeting on the Lord’s day following, to the great surprise and wonder of many. The people went on in their usual method, having two sermons, in both which they treated of those principles for which they had been accused, founding their discourses on the words of our Saviour, *All power is given unto me, in heaven and in earth*. After this they received the Lord’s Supper, and then made a collection for the *poor*, to which the Lords contributed liberally with them.”⁵

This was in January of the year 1640-1, when Canne, at Easter, about the 25th of April, 1641, went down to Bristol and formed the Broadmead church. This church in London also, was the one over which Canne had been pastor before he was driven to Amsterdam by his first banishment. This, by his own statement, lasted *seventeen years*; and must have been terminated in 1640, because, on the 25th of April, about thirty-one days after the year 1641 began, he was engaged in forming the church at Bristol. Seventeen years, therefore, taken from 1640, will leave 1623. Nothing in the statements recorded appears to prevent the possibility that Canne might have reached England in 1639. If this were the case, the seventeen years of banishment must have commenced in 1622; when, on the authority of Steven, he was chosen pastor of the “Ancient English church in Amsterdam.” This accords with the account of Hubbard’s formation of the church which has just been introduced. He appears to have

⁵ Crosby, vol. i. pp. 162, 163.

formed it with a view to emigration, and went with it to Ireland, and died there in 1621. The church returned, as it should seem, immediately, and elected John Canne for his successor, who served the brethren, teaching them in private houses, for about a year, some say a year or two, and then was driven to Amsterdam. From that time (it is said), "this "poor congregation had subsisted almost by miracle, for above "twenty-four years, shifting from place to place to avoid the "notice of the public;" when in Deadman's Place, Southwark, it re-commenced its services on the 18th [10th] of January, 1640-1. If this time of its duration be correct, it would place the formation of the church in 1616 and give six instead of two years for the transactions and pastorates of Hubbard and Canne.⁶ By both accounts Canne is identified as a former pastor of this church; and, in this year of its revival he was in England; he was actively engaged as we have seen at Bristol; his active engagements had reference to that very worship to which they now publicly returned. The pastor chosen in 1640-1, Stephen More, was not a baptist, but Samuel Howe who preceded him was; and so was John Canne, now in the prime of his vigour, returned to the scene of former attachments, sufferings, and labour. It is against nature to think that he was in London, and not there when they were returning to the object for which he had become hardened with suffering. He and his baptist brethren were the very men who had urged the great doctrine of Christ's supremacy in the church on which the sermons of the following sabbath were preached, when the Lords were present with them; and then there were *two* sermons, though the church had but one pastor. It is impossible to avoid the impression that the pastor of "The Ancient English Church in Amsterdam" was there, and that his baptist brethren formed the greater part of the assembly; and hence, the

⁶ It is highly probable that Neal, ii. 23—26, in giving his account, has confounded the church formed by Henry Jacob in 1616, with that formed by Hubbard, or Herbert, in 1621; but it is hoped that further light will fall on

these difficulties when the effect of Canne's labours on the Internal Polity and Growth of Dissenting Churches comes to be exhibited in the second volume of his works.

record of this event on the journal of the House of Lords, is headed "*Anabaptists*, recommended to the justice of this House by *his Majesty*." Hanbury, ii. p. 66.

The church in Devonshire Square, formed [?] by William Kiffin in 1653, was probably the first that refused admission to Pædobaptists. That formed by Spilsbury in 1633, and this by Hubbard in 1621, not only admitted Pædobaptists as members, but also, as in the case of Stephen More, just cited, to the ministry, or pastorate. These churches fixed their attention on the validity of believers' baptism, and the necessity for separation from the hierarchy. Canne had already advanced, in his Stay against Straying, to affirm the impropriety of *hearing* the hierarchical ministry. It was on this point his heart was fixed when he returned in 1640, or 1639. On this point he disputed and taught at Bristol. It was on this ground that he and his brethren were called Separatists and Anabaptists; and the feeling awakened by their exertions is well expressed by no friendly pen. "The Separatists are like to be some help to hold up the bishops through their impertinency; but we trust, by God's blessing on our labours, to prevent that evil." *Bailie's Letter of December 19, 1640*, quoted by Hanbury, ii. 56.

Another cause which operated in producing the unjust severities which Canne endured, appears in the main truth to which all his investigations lead; the inviolable sacredness and sufficiency of holy scripture. This rule he applied by making scripture its own interpreter, through a careful comparison of its several parts. His address to the readers of his bible, contains the following words: "It is not the scripture that leadeth men into errors and by-ways, but the misinterpretations and false *glosses* imposed upon it; as when men by perverting the scripture to their own *principles* and *poses*, will make them speak *their sense* and *private interpretation*. Laying therefore aside men's interpretations, and only following the *scripture interpreting itself*, it must needs be the best way and freest from errors." To this rule he conformed with scrupulous exactness in all his investigations and teaching, and hence the growth of his own

mind is clear from his various productions. What practical point soever called him forth, he came to his work laden with heavenly treasure, and filled with the Spirit. A mere controversial expedient had no weight in his judgment, and no force against his argument. His words were words of God. He thus became terrible to the advocates of any error. The papist could not altogether despise his appeals to the high authority of inspiration; the protestants could not sustain one point in their creed without using that very weapon which, in the hand of this brother, was penetrating their souls. The Church of England made her boast of the Bible, which she resisted unto blood, and which, when forced to receive it, she found to be destructive of her whole system. The Nonconformists appealed to scripture against Canterbury and Rome, and stood condemned before its sacred pages. It was the strength of Canne to hold forth thus the word of life with self-interpreting simplicity; but, in doing it, every advocate of error, condemned by a revelation he could not despise, must find what defence he could in covering with resentful abuse the laborious and generous man by whom it was exhibited.

The foregoing statements will be elucidated and confirmed by glancing at the writings of our author. Each one appears to have been the production of some passing event, and brought the scriptures of truth to bear with vividness upon some present duty. "*The Way of Peace*" was addressed to his own flock in Amsterdam, after terminating a painful division among its members. "*A Necessity for Separation*," &c., "*A Stay against Straying*," "*Congregational Discipline*," "*The Church's Plea*," and "*Zion's Prerogative*," were of more general application, but yet referred to the actual position of his brethren at the time. "*The Discoverer*," "*The Golden Rule*," "*The Snare is Broken*," and "*Emanuel God with us*," partook more of a political character, and threw a scriptural light upon the troubled pathway of the commonwealth. The "*Voice from the Temple*" was dedicated to Cromwell, by whose request it appears to have been written. "*The Second Voice from the Temple*" had reference to parliamentary duties

and tithes; "*The Time of the End*," "*The Time of Finding*," "*Truth with Time*," "*A Seasonable Word*," and "*A Twofold Shaking*," had reference to the duties of Christian brethren, especially of those in authority, during the Protectorate. A practical and energizing spirit breathes through them all; and his Reference Bible, the best that had, then, ever been prepared for English readers, afforded its impulse and guidance in every good word and work. It has not yet been ascertained when this last-named production of Canne's was *first* issued. A copy is found, printed in 1647, and another edition was sent forth in 1664; but evidence is wanting to prove when the *first* edition appeared. This production of immense labour, which is still so deservedly esteemed, like the other writings which have just been named, exhibit the author's most earnest desire to save his country from those religious corruptions on which the English hierarchy was based. The persecutions by which himself and others, of whom the world was not worthy, had been expatriated, led him to join, heart and hand, the leaders of the commonwealth, and his eighth and tenth works were written on their behalf: "The Golden Rule of Justice" to defend those leaders after the execution of Charles I., and the "Emanuel" to awaken a just regard for divine mercy granted in the victory at Dunbar. He stood in the midst of these convulsions, vividly sympathizing with every event that involved the glory of his Redeemer; and that he was not despised is clear from the prominence he obtained in the canting blasphemy surreptitiously imported from the banished court, and the confidence of the ruling power, by whose authority two, at least, of his works were published. Pleading, as he did, that no ruler had any right to make a law binding the church to serve Christ in any way, but that his own law, interpreted by itself, must bind his people in all his worship, however desirable the union of Scotland and England was, he perceived that parliament had not chosen the right method of securing it; and, therefore, wrote his work entitled "The Snare is Broken," proving that "The" [Holy League and] "Cove-

"nant was sick of Jehorom's disease, the bowels of it having "fallen out." Canne's mind was formed to sympathize with men like Cromwell and his great adherents; and hence probably he removed to England, resided at Bow, in Middlesex, published his latter works in London, and addressed his "Voice from the Temple" to the Protector and to Lady and Colonel Overton, reminding them that, as saints of God, they were bound to consider the visions of holy scripture which concern the latter times, and that Jesus will reveal the understanding of them near the end of their accomplishment. He felt like one of the old prophets, when any thing in that ruling power seemed to start from strict adherence to principle and the word of God. If he had been less faithful to the friends he loved, his treatment of opponents, who regarded no propriety, might have been more easily impugned; but, when his works relating to Cromwell, published before and after his death, are well considered, few will venture to conclude otherwise than that Canne, who could never be drawn from truth by the parliament or the Protector, was, in treating of the Nonconformists and Episcopalians, though a fervent and decided, yet certainly a kind and conscientious man.

It is a matter of sincere regret that no more can be ascertained respecting the birth, age, and closing scenes of our author. In the "Epistolary Word," &c., written by John Rogers to introduce "The Time of the End," published in 1657, Canne is called "This aged brother and companion in tribulation," "This brother (this old sufferer and standard "against the prelates and tyrants, old and new) in wing and "word." In the postscript to that work, at p. 265, he says of himself, "Upon my banishment from Hull (for what cause "I know not, there being nothing to this day made known "to me), I went apart (as Elias did) into the wilderness; "and, as I lay under hedges, and in holes, my soul in bitterness breathed forth many sad complaints before the Lord, "' *It is enough, O Lord, take away my life, for I am not better "than my fathers.*' Often and sore wrestlings I had with my "God, to know his *meaning* and *teaching*, under this dispensation; and what further work (whether doing or suffering)

“ he had for me, his poor old servant, being now again
“ banished, after seventeen years’ banishment before.” Some
light is thrown over these scenes of affliction by “ A Narra-
“ tive, wherein are faithfully set forth the Sufferings of John
“ Canne, Wentworth Day, John Clark, John Belcher, John
“ Ricard, Robert Boggis, Peter Kidd, Richard Bryenton,
“ and George Strange,” &c., “ published by a *Friend* to the
“ prisoners, &c., in 1658,” and preserved in Dr. Williams’s
library. It is therein stated that, “ Upon the first day of the
“ second month, commonly called *April*, 1658, many of the
“ Lord’s people being assembled together in *Swan Alley*, in
“ *Coleman Street* (a public place where saints have met many
“ years); as they were waiting upon the Lord in prayer,
“ and other holy duties, on a sudden, the *marshal of the city*,
“ with several other officers, rushed in with great violence upon
“ them.” “ Old brother Canne was then in the pulpit, and
“ had read a place of scripture, but spoken nothing to it.
“ The scripture was Numbers xvi. 20—26. Now he per-
“ ceiving that they came in at both doors with their halberts,
“ pikes, staves, &c., and fearing lest there might be some
“ hurt done to the Lord’s poor and naked [unarmed] people,
“ desired the brethren and sisters to be all quiet, and to
“ make no stir: for his part he feared them not, but was
“ assured the Lord would eminently stand by them:— Whilst
“ he was thus speaking to the people, exhorting them to
“ patience, one of the officers (breaking through the crowd)
“ came furiously upon him, and with great violence plucked
“ him out of the pulpit, and when he had so done, hurled him
“ over the benches and forms in a very barbarous manner.
“ Some brethren being nigh, endeavoured to save brother
“ Canne from falling, but the rage of the officers was such,
“ that they fell in upon him, although through mercy he had
“ not much hurt by it.” pp. 3, 4. Seven others were taken
into custody, “ because they spake against the cruelty and
“ inhuman dealing exercised upon brother Canne, saying
“ aloud, *he is an old man, and do not use him so barbarously.*”
When brought before the mayor, brother Canne was the first

called. "The mayor asked him what he thought of the "present government?" His answer was, "*For the present government I am not satisfied with it. But this concerneth not you, neither shall I speak now any thing to you about it; but if you send me to the Protector, I shall tell him what I think concerning this government. For I have a great deal to say to his face, if in such a way as this I may be brought before him. But for you, sir, this is not our business now.*" In this prosecution *Wentworth Day* was fined £500 and imprisoned twelve months. John Clark was fined 200 marks, and imprisoned six months, although the jury acquitted him. John Canne and the rest were on the Saturday evening at nine o'clock (*the 25th?*), called into court, and discharged. The jury, in acquitting Clark, said to the judges, "*If ye like not this verdict, then look somewhere else, for we have no more to say to you, nor any thing more against the prisoner.*"

Oliver Cromwell died September 3rd, 1658; Canne's prosecution, therefore, from the 1st to the 25th of April in that year, occurred about five months before that event. His "Two Voices from the Temple," and his "Time of the End," had already conveyed his scriptural admonitions to that great ruler, perhaps not without provoking his resentment. The character of his seizure and prosecution in 1658 would seem to prove this; and his "Voice from the Temple" having been addressed to Colonel Robert Overton, then governor of Hull, "and his religious lady, with all other dear Christian friends in and about Hull," might by possibility explain why he was banished from Hull in 1657, or rather *before* 1657, when his "Time of the End" was printed in London. It may be that, after he addressed his work to Colonel Overton in 1653, he went to Hull, hoping to advance his object by personal effort and negotiation in that city where he had many friends, and where he first preached his doctrine as here printed. This effort might have caused the banishment from Hull of which he speaks. His three works, "Truth with Time," "A Seasonable Word," and "A Twofold Shaking," were published in London in 1659, and he might have been

in London then; but in that year "The Parliamentary Intelligencer" was published in his name, and with those of Hugh Peters and Philip Nye,—John Canne's signature was forged as a witness to Bradshaw's will. Respecting the first of these libels, we find in the Harleian Miscellany the following note, which is appended to a second edition, printed in 1710, with the author's name, Samuel Butler: "This Canne was a noted man amongst the saints in those times; therefore the author made use of his name in order to conceal his own." *Harl. Misc.* vol. vii. p. 53. Butler might have been the author of both these productions, for they indicate by their nastiness and blasphemy the unchastized babyhood of his filthy humour.

The trials through which Canne had to pass at this time, and the state of mind in which they were endured, present themselves to the reader, very strikingly, in the following statements. In few of our author's writings can any thing be learned respecting himself, his mind being filled with his theme; but here we have a case in which a little concession to his own feelings is allowed. "I am now an *old man*, and expect every day to lay down this *earthly tabernacle*; it will be therefore some comfort to me, whensoever my change comes, that I have left a PUBLIC TESTIMONY against this present *apostacy*, as formerly I did against the other: and, howsoever, I bless the Lord that he hath kept my feet out of the SNARE of both; yet this I leave behind me, under my hand, i. e., *The free grace and goodness of God hath more abundantly appeared towards me, in preserving me, a poor worm, from this last apostacy, than from the former; not only because of the two, I take the last to be the worst, but because the latter hath in it much more of the depths of Satan than the former had.*

"As for their jeerings and *reproachful speeches*, I pass them by: such things are not new to me. The *bishops* and their *creatures* used them; yet this much I must say for the *bishops*, which I cannot say for them, so far they showed us FAIR PLAY, not to imprison us, nor banish us, till they had

“told us the cause, and heard what we could say for ourselves; yea, and would seem to be very pious and charitable in taking great pains with some of us, to bring us out of error (as they called it), but I have found no such *piety* and *charity* with these men; for I have been banished now almost *two years*, but never to this day knew the cause of it, neither hath there been any thing laid to my charge. I shall not speak of the sad calamity which they have brought since upon my family, by the death of my dear wife and daughter.”⁷

One clue to John Canne's residence after 1659, is supplied by the republication of his Bible at Amsterdam in 1664. A former edition was published in 1647. The seventeen years of his first banishment must have terminated in 1640-1, when he was in England; and therefore they must have begun about 1623. He was in this interval both pastor of the English Church and bookseller in Amsterdam. The first edition of his Bible has not been found, but it might have been published in 1637. It had cost him more than twenty-one, say twenty-two years of preparation. If he was twenty-five years of age before he began such a work, which is not unlikely, this would make him about forty-seven years of age in 1637. It would place his birth in 1590, and would make him sixty-eight years of age at the assault and prosecution in 1658.

The following passage leads us to the time and place of his decease, but not to the age at which he died. The English church stood directly on the left-hand side of the Bagien Hofe; and in a corner behind, and adjoining to it, was the Chamber of the Carpenters, built in 1625. Mr. Johnson styles himself, in 1617, pastor of the Ancient English Church sojourning in Amsterdam. It would seem that this must have been the place used by the Amsterdam English merchants, without any formal separation from the English church, and yet without any official appointment of their ministers by the hierarchical rulers at home. They were churchmen comparatively freed from restraint by their pecuniary independence and separated position. This might not only have

⁷ The Time of Finding, S.C.L. 1658. Epistle Dedicatory, pp. 9, 10.

afforded a refuge for persecuted Episcopalians, such as Dr. Ames, but have also afforded access to the Brownists, such as Johnson, Ainsworth, and Canne became. If it could be proved that this was the church burnt down in 1662, and that these sojourning merchants received the so-called followers of Brown to their friendship, as they had done other persecuted men, this might help one to understand how they became, by one party, called Brownists in 1600, while, by their own pastors [in 1617] they were called *the Ancient English Church* sojourning there. Indeed, the whole of the following statements would, on this supposition, be consistent with other ascertained facts.

“About the year 1600, the Brownists, who had settled in Amsterdam, chose Francis Johnson as pastor, and Henry Ainsworth as doctor, or teacher. They were joined by John Smyth, of Gainsborough, and several others, in 1606; but this new auxiliary, adopting doctrines not unlike those shortly afterwards promulgated by Arminius, was forthwith expelled. Mr. Smyth and his adherents went and established themselves at Leyden. Another schism took place in the Amsterdam congregation on the subject of discipline; Johnson insisted that the government of the church was vested solely in the eldership; whilst Ainsworth, on the other hand, contended that it was in the church generally, of which the elders were a part. The dispute, unfortunately, was conducted with so much warmth, that a separation took place; and two meeting-houses for a while erected at Amsterdam, called from the respective leaders the Franciscan and Ainsworthian Brownists. Johnson having retired to Emden, his small flock was dispersed, or joined that of Ainsworth, who continued till his melancholy death, which, there is good reason to believe was effected by poison administered by a Jew. This occurred about 1622. He was succeeded by John Canne, the well-known author of the marginal references to the Bible. I have been unable to discover who were the pastors subsequent to the death of John Canne, in 1667.” *Steven’s History of the Scottish Church in Rotterdam*,” pp. 270, 271.

From these statements, the following chronological arrangements of Canne’s life would seem to approach very near to the truth.

A.D.

- [1590?] His birth.
- [1615?] Canne commenced the preparation of his Bible.
- 1621 The church formed by Hubbard.
- 1621 Canne chosen to succeed Hubbard.
- 1622-3 Canne banished, and chosen pastor at Amsterdam.
- 1625 Charles I. ascends the throne of England.
- 1632 Canne preached, and printed his "*Way of Peace*," in Amsterdam.
- 1634 Canne published his "*Necessity of Separation*," Amsterdam. U. L. C.
- [1637?] The first edition of Canne's Bible, Amsterdam.
- 1639 Canne's "*Stay against Straying*," Amsterdam. U. L. C.
- 1640 The Long Parliament begins, Nov. 2.
- 1640 Ball replies to Canne on Separation, &c.
- Canne is in England.
- Canne is in London [?], Jan. 10th, 1640-1.
- 1641 Canne is at Bristol, April 25.
- 1641 Canne published "*Congregational Discipline*."
 "*Zion's Prerogative*." B. M.
 The Protestation of the Commons published.
- 1643 Canne published "*The Discoverer*." B. M.
- 1644 Canne is answered by Forbes.
- 1647 Canne's Bible is reprinted. This is the first edition of which any copy
 has been found.
- 1649 Charles I. was beheaded.
- 1649 Canne published "*The Golden Rule*," London, by authority. B. M.
 "*The Snare is Broken*," London. B. M. D. W. L.
 "*Emanuel, God with us*," London, by authority. B. M.
- 1653 Cromwell is made Protector.
- Canne published "*A Voice from the Temple*," dedicated to Cromwell,
 &c., London. D. W. L. and U.
 "*A Second Voice from the Temple*," London. D. W. L.
- 1656 "*Truth with Time*."
- 1657 "*The Time of the End*," London. Now banished
 from Hull. B. M.
- 1657 Informations laid against Canne and others.
- 1658 Canne published "*The Time of Finding*." S. C. L.
 Canne is seized in Coleman Street, 1st of April; liberated 25th of April.
 Cromwell dies, September 3.
- 1659 Canne published "*A Seasonable Word*," B. M.
 "*A Twofold Shaking*." H. C. L.
- 1664 Canne's Bible is again reprinted at Amsterdam.
- 1667 Canne is recorded by Steven to have died in Amsterdam. If the con-
 jecture of his birth be taken, he would be now seventy-seven years
 of age, and in 1658 he would have been sixty-eight years of age,
 which would account for his being then called "An old man," "This
 old brother," and "Old brother Canne."

From these statements it would appear quite certain that John Canne was pastor of the church in Amsterdam during the whole of his residence and labour in England, from 1640-1 to his death. He was also a printer in Amsterdam, and most likely was often passing to and from that city. He was chosen pastor in Amsterdam, 1622, and his "Necessity of Separation" was printed twelve years after in 1634. In this work we find the following statement proving his former connexion with the hierarchy. Referring to words quoted from the Nonconformists, he says: "*These are their own testimonies, and we know they are true; and, therefore, in obedience to God, and care of our precious souls, we have left our unsanctified standing in their assemblies, and, through the Lord's mercy unto us, do walk in the holy order of his gospel, although daily sufferers for it of manifold afflictions.*" Address to the Reader, p. iv.

The causes which operated in determining the mind of Canne, and those with whom he wrought, to urge, without waiting for the civil power, personal and immediate decision, in separating from the English establishment to form scriptural churches of believers, baptized into Christ, and in thus devoting their independent energies to the revival and diffusion of spiritual and personal religion, in conformity with the law of the Redeemer, as elucidated by the example and instructions of the apostles, will be found in the history, character, and policy of the hierarchy from which they retired.

The Church of England cannot date its origin nearer to the birth of our Lord than the year A.D. 596, when Augustine, with other monks, commissioned by Pope Gregory I., arrived in England, and laid its foundation in the city of Canterbury; there, at that time, and by these agencies, the episcopal establishment of England commenced; but this was not the beginning of practical Christianity in England. Before the civil influence of Rome had failed in these islands, the knowledge of Christ and his salvation had spread, in its unfettered and voluntary activities, over great part of England, Scotland, and Ireland. The buildings

of Augustine, in Canterbury, commenced with the occupancy and repair of an old Roman church. The brethren from the island of Iona, in Scotland, had penetrated the kingdom of Northumbria, and established themselves in Lindisfarne on its eastern shore. The old Britons, as they retired before the Saxon powers, took with them the knowledge and love of Christ into their mountain-retreats in Wales, where the largest fraternity of Christians, who, in this country, gave themselves up wholly to the discipline of mercy, was founded at Bangor-Iscoed. Much of the sympathy felt in Rome for the Saxons in England, was produced by representations of their sin and misery presented there by Christian brethren in Ireland. The monasteries of Glastonbury and St. Alban's must have had an origin anterior to Augustine. Lucius, the king of Britain, is said to have received Christianity in A.D. 156. St. Alban, who gave his name to the monastery and the present city, suffered for the faith in 305, while Aaron and Julius suffered at Chester about the same year. It was also alleged as a chief point in the criminalities imputed to the Welsh, that they were so cruel and heathenish as not to preach the gospel to those Saxons by whom they had been expatriated. Christianity, therefore, had a deeply-rooted existence in England before Augustine secured its combination with the Saxon civil power.

Bede expressly affirms that the nation of the southern Picts had, by the preaching of Ninias, forsaken the errors of idolatry, and embraced the truth long before A. D. 565, when Columbus laboured in Scotland, Ireland, and Britain. This was thirty-one years before the arrival of Augustine, and respecting the character of that Christianity which so extensively preceded his arrival in these realms, we have from the same author the following statements, Hist. b. iii. c. 4.

“ This island [Iona] has for its ruler an abbot, who
“ is a priest, to whose direction all the province, and even
“ the bishops, contrary to the usual method, are subject,
“ according to the example of their first teacher, who was not

“ a bishop, but a priest and monk; of whose life and discourses some writings are said to be preserved by his disciples. But whatsoever he was himself, this we know for certain, that he left successors renowned for their continency, their love of God, and observance of monastic rules. It is true they followed uncertain rules in their observance of the great festival, as having none to bring them the synodal decrees for the observance of Easter, by reason of their being so far away from the rest of the world; wherefore, they only practised such works of piety and chastity as they could learn from the prophetical, evangelical, and apostolical writings. This manner of keeping Easter continued among them for the space of 150 years, till the year of our Lord’s incarnation, 715.”

That this opinion respecting Easter, &c. was not the mere result of separation from the world, but a conviction to which they submitted in conscience against the opinions enforced by papal Rome, now rising into power, is clear from the fact that, when Colman, abbot and bishop of Lindisfarne, was encountered by Wilfrid, the agent and speaker of Agilbert, bishop of the West Saxons, though Oswy, king of the Northumbrians, submitted to Rome lest he should at last be excluded from heaven, Colman, being a follower of Columba, in A.D. 664, vacated his bishopric, and retired rather than conform to the decree when strengthened by royal authority. Bede, b. iii. c. 25.

The points of difference more immediately claiming submission on the part of Christians resident in Britain before Augustine came, are defined in his own words delivered at a synod or conference holden in Gloucestershire about A.D. 599. “ You act,” he says, “ in many particulars contrary to our custom, or rather the custom of the universal church, and yet, if you will comply with me in these three points, viz. To keep Easter at the due time; to administer baptism, by which we are again born to God, according to the custom of the holy Roman Apostolic Church; and jointly with us to preach the word of God to the English nation, we will

“readily tolerate all the other things you do, though contrary to our customs.” Bede, b. ii. c. 2.

The answer to this proposal, recorded by Bede on the same page, proves, on his own showing, that the point of difficulty with these ancient men of God was, not so much in the things proposed, as in the subjection demanded of them. It is clear that there was some diversity of creed respecting the nature of baptism, as well as the time of Easter. It would seem that this must have involved the *opus operatum*, since Bede calls the Roman baptism, “the baptism of salvation,” which Augustine brought us: while their not preaching mercy to the Saxons might have been excused in the British people, until the Saxons had restored to them their lands, and ceased to shed their blood. But the fact is, that in the hands of Augustine the gospel became a means of asking greater subjection from a people already maddened with oppression, and the subjection was enforced by corresponding means. “Augustine,” “in a threatening manner,” “foretold, that in case they would not join in unity with their brethren, they should be warred upon by their enemies; and if they would not preach the way of life to the English nation, they should at their hands undergo the vengeance of death.” There was a spirit in the prediction worthy of its author, and the cause he meant to serve. These British Christians, monks and priests, terms which indicate organization and church society, were brethren in the Lord, for so they are addressed and denounced; but two hundred of these brethren, Bede says twelve hundred, from the monastery of Bangor-Iscoed, were, in the battle of Chester, deliberately slaughtered by Ethelfrid, the orthodox king of Northumbria, because they were found praying for the safety of their suffering countrymen.

Thus rose the English hierarchy; inverting the law of martyrdom, she was baptized in blood—not at the termination, but at the beginning of her earthly career; and, moreover, the blood in which she was baptized, was not her own. By this means dissent from the Church of England has, with

her own finger, dipped in her dreadful trade, been written, in that fearful colour, on the British soil; and handed down from generation to generation, a terrible inheritance of English people; both when Augustine, at its rise, employed the power of kings to subjugate his brethren, and when, with three-fifths of the nation's wealth at his command, Wolsey out-shone his monarch, and justly provoked the reaction by which he fell. Under all the forms this sacred domination has assumed, whether Saxon, Danish, Norman, monarchical or republican, papal or protestant, its burning fetters have provoked, by the anguish they inflicted, protestation, resistance, dissent, in various forms, civil and sacred, internal and external.

The civil resistance provoked by hierarchical encroachments are traced in England, in no department with greater clearness than in the repeated laws enacted for restricting the accumulation of property in mortmain, and in the danger which thence accrued to the prerogative of the Crown. The former began sixty years before the Norman Conquest, and continued to the 9 Geo. II. c. 36, which was passed in A.D. 1735-6. "In deducing the history of which statutes, it "will be matter of curiosity to observe the great address and "subtle contrivance of the ecclesiastics, in eluding from time "to time the laws in being, and the zeal with which successive parliaments have pursued them through all their "finesses: how new remedies were still the parents of new "evasions; till the legislature at last, though with difficulty, had obtained a decisive victory." Blackstone, vol. ii. p. 268.

These laws, especially from 9 Hen. III. to 9 Geo. II., simply unfold the fact that where power and wealth become the objects of human exertion, men will do their utmost to obtain them, whether the instruments employed be civil or sacred. That church polity which in the three propositions, before cited, was by Augustine proposed to the Britons, and advanced by the slaughter of his brethren at Chester, became so powerful a means of increasing wealth, that even the

Saxons were obliged to restrict it, and it never came within its present limitations, until the 9th Geo. II. was passed into law. During this interval, the accumulation of estates brought the ecclesiastics into a position not only equal to the statesmen of their time, but also into one in which they could contest the point of superiority in power with the king himself. Thus John was made to abdicate, and receive his kingdom again as a fief of the see of Rome. The great conflict between Becket of Canterbury and Henry II., was on this question, whether, in the case before them, the king or the bishop should be the superior. The monarch was made to feel that Jerusalem was to him a burdensome stone. Having lost its spiritual character, and taken a wrong position, the essential doctrine of holy scripture became, in her hands, destructive to regal authority and civil repose. The supremacy of Christ, presented in the person of an inflated and worldly preacher, was incompatible with regal prerogative; and hence the conflict, however varied in its form, never ceased until Wolsey, by straining it too hard, broke the cable of his church, and Henry VIII., to guard against further ecclesiastical wrongs, assumed the supremacy; and becoming head of the church, to guard against future encroachments on his own prerogative, appropriated that of his Redeemer.

Henry, rioting in lust, and unappalled in conscience by the slaughter of many wives, was just the man to do this awful deed. His ecclesiastical policy harmonized perfectly with his domestic kindness and purity, and when he assumed his new dignity, he became an appropriate head over that hierarchy in whose hand the message of mercy from God had become the scourge of fallen humanity; the light, darkness; and lessons of holiness, elements producing moral pestilence. Henry never appeared more in his place than when throned in the hierarchy of England; and no illustration can be more decisive of divine judgment in the spectacle he exhibits there, than that which appears in his own court. Wolsey, to carry on the policy of his church, obtained his own appointment as

vicar-apostolical of England. By his accession to that office supremacy in that church was given to Henry, who stripped him of every honour, and rolled him in the dust of death. Sir Thomas More, succeeding Wolsey as chancellor, to destroy Tyndale and his brethren for circulating the word of God, made a difference in religious opinion, on the king's supremacy, constructive treason; and, when his cruel subterfuge had passed into law, became himself one of its earliest victims, and was executed on Tower Hill. Cromwell, the patron and the persecutor of Tyndale, as vicar-apostolical, gave to Henry supremacy in the church; when Henry was dead, Cranmer compelled, on More's construction of the law, the youthful Edward, protesting with tears, to sign the warrant for burning Joan Boucher of Kent; and then, by the same law, himself was burned to death. Criminality and divine retribution cover that whole page on which the separation from Rome and hierarchical subjugation to civil power are recorded in the history of England. Jehovah took the men in their own hearts, and they died by his visitation.

Tyndale had pledged the circulation of holy scripture in his mother tongue, and given his life to that object. His retreat among the English merchants in Antwerp afforded him protection till his promise was fulfilled. During the whole of this time a chief aim of Wolsey, of More, of Cranmer, and of Henry, was to cut off the man; and, if the Bible must be circulated, to circulate it through their own hands. Baffled and defeated in every measure, the clergy found that when Frith and Tyndale had both been martyred, the work had gone too far. The Bible, in English, became a most important part of continental enterprise. Its importation could not be prevented. A taste for reading the sacred pages had been growing up for centuries, and the necessity for a change of vast extent in all that related to the church of Christ, was felt and urged by thousands. Knox was beginning to thunder in Scotland, and all could hear reports of action in the field of Germany. Ireland was bitterly suffering from English adventurers. Wolsey, with his wonted

skill, saw the advancing change, and, before his fall, provided, as the best defence, his two new colleges with a collection of the most intelligent men that Europe could supply. This, perhaps, was the wisest defence the hierarchy contrived in all its troubles; but the colleges of Wolsey produced Nonconformists, and even martyrs to the reformation. What could be the cause of this resistless tendency? It was not in any individual, or class; it was in the nation. The body politic had taken some disease which no ecclesiastical or civil purgative could expel. What was it that so mysteriously took hold of all events, and turned them to its own nutriment? It was the internal effort, the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, of this great empire, urging, through all its parts, the absolute and universal necessity for full ecclesiastical reform.

Some little help in solving this problem may be obtained by glancing once more at Bede's description of those Christian communities which existed in England before the arrival of Augustine. The words, as cited before at p. xxxi., are, "They only practised such works of piety and chastity as they could learn from the prophetical, evangelical, and "apostolical writings." This was the principle of their dissent from Augustine, or rather, the principle of Augustine's dissent from them. They thought these holy scriptures were a good and sufficient guide in themselves. Augustine wished their subjection to episcopal dictations, backed by the authority of Rome. They felt their union to Christ Jesus their Lord; he wished them to be united with the growing hierarchy of Rome. This was not, then, what it afterwards became; but then, and always, in commanding subjection, it unfolded its sacramental delusion and wrong usurpation. The three proposals made by Augustine to the British brethren at their conference in Gloucestershire, A.D. 599, by their mildness indicate the smooth and oily policy by which all the laws in being were from time to time eluded, p. xxxiii., and the vital character of his proposals show the principal element ever retained and enforced through all that policy. The great object was to secure, in any form whatever, sub-

jection to episcopal authority without any appeal, against it, to the word of God. This, yielded in one case, led directly and irresistibly to another, without any known limitation. The danger seen at first, however obscured by artifice, and the fear it awakened, however burlesqued and bantered with reproach, continued to increase as this great experiment of subjection to episcopacy without appeal to scripture revealed its effects. The three initiatory requirements of Augustine were multiplied by tens, hundreds, thousands, until in the labyrinth of episcopal injunctions to find any practical enforcement of scripture truth, and feel the security of divine law, was impossible. From the massacre at Chester of brethren from Bangor-Iscoed, to the time of Wicliffe, experience unfolded, to kings, nobles, and the multitudes, how bitterly might be deplored the effects of religious subjection on all civil and earthly interests. The clergy had now learned to defy the nobles; the king had been humbled in the dust before a legate from Rome; and the revenue of England, drawn to support the hierarchy and the papacy, exceeded in value that of the government and the throne. Besides, as Colman, in the conference with Wilfrid at Streaneshalch [Whitby], and Hilda, who retired with him, pleaded in 664, so multitudes existed in these realms, down to the time of Wicliffe, who still felt and pleaded that subjection to Rome without regard to scripture was not, and could not be, submission to God. Popery, therefore, and the subjection thus required, is not religion; it is evangelical infidelity; a gospelized method of living without God and without hope in the world.

The flagrant practice of falsifying history by leaving out of its record, as far as possible, the existence of those advocates for the authority of scripture, and naming them only when they were to be defamed and persecuted, has formed one of the most fruitful sources of modern error to which attention can be recalled. In no country were the exactions and encroachments of the Roman pontiffs ultimately carried to a more exorbitant extent than in England. In 1376 the taxes

yearly paid to the pope, out of England, amounted to five times as much as all the taxes paid to the crown. The church became a vast conduit or instrument of suction by which money was drawn from the country. Very nearly one half of the soil of England was at this period in the possession of the church. The pope claimed the right of presenting to church livings universally, and of reserving to himself the next presentation to any benefice that might become vacant. The effect of these absurd submissions to ecclesiastical power declares the feeling of those hidden advocates of truth which lay concealed beneath the great encumbrance. The livings were so generally appropriated by foreigners, sometimes sixty by an individual, and the curacies were so ill appointed, that religious services could scarcely be said, in many cases, to be conducted at all. Avarice, absurdity, and neglect every where insulted the public mind, and raised that feeling which hailed the institution of mendicant friars as a reform which, by seeming to despise and condemn the local clergy, advanced to some extent nearer the model of scripture and the dictate of common sense. They preached, and taught, and sympathized with the common people, but they found amongst the common people those adherents to scripture truth which called for the refined and terrible expedient of the inquisition. These indications show a state of feeling which prepared the way for Wicliffe and his purer work of reformation. While the king and parliament were achieving their great victory against the assumed papal right of presenting to church livings, this great man, born in the parish of Wicliffe, Yorkshire, A.D. 1324, and his disciples, were shaking the church at once in its doctrine, its discipline, and the whole fabric of its polity. During his life, his views respecting *the constitution of the church* and the subject of ecclesiastical authority, appeared to exert the greatest influence. In his attack on the received doctrines he had less support, but his method of investigating them produced great results both then and after his death, in 1382. His fundamental principle

was, that the knowledge of the revealed will of God was to be found in the scriptures only, and, moreover, was to be found there, not by the church alone, or its recognized heads, but by every private individual who should earnestly and humbly address himself to the search. On this principle he assailed the authority of the pope himself, denied that Christ had, in the Gospels, instituted the mass, that the real presence of Christ was really in the sacramental elements of the supper; and brought his method of investigating the whole of that system which had, in England, grown up on that subjection to Rome which Augustine introduced in A.D. 596, and pleaded with maledictions in 599. Here the whole question of conducting the Christian life by what can be learned from scripture, without submitting to the decretals of Rome, or of following the decrees of Rome without appeal to scripture, became revived and brought into prominence. It was not a new one, but the old dispute revived with all the weight which had accumulated through the bitter experience of 783 years. During that period the hierarchy had put forth her strength, and her principles were developed; and now she must be tried again. Another class of men had risen up in her own community, and she had attained a new position. From being the competitor, she had now become more properly a coadjutor of the throne, and instruments confirming the grant of benefices were given from Rome at the suggestion or appointment of the king. Henry IV., on his accession, promised his utmost aid "in exterminating heretics;" and Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, and the parliament, obtained from him, in January, 1401, the statute 2 Henry IV., authorizing the burning of heretics. William Sawtre, formerly rector of Lynn, and afterwards priest of St. Osith's, London, was in March of that same year burned in Smithfield under the provisions of that statute. In the trial of Thorpe, written by himself, by evidence which came out before Arundel in 1407, the nature and extent of this heresy is rendered indubitable. Not only had many congregations and schools of these Lollards been formed in various

parts of the country, but many of the clergy, some of the bishops, had imbibed their notions, and these are distinctly traced to Wicliffe and his writings. The advancing influence of these sentiments was so rapid that, in 1404, the parliament meeting at Coventry advised the king, then in want of money, to seize the revenues of the church, and apply them to the public service. They extended to Scotland, where the charges on which John Risby was burned for heresy in 1408, like those produced against Sawtre and his brethren in England, are identical with those recorded against Wicliffe in the documents of Rome. All these charges of heresy rest upon the growing conviction that scripture, without subjection to ecclesiastical authority, must guide the reformation necessary in the church. No persecution could stop the daily advances of this great national conviction. The king and clergy combined had no power with which to stay the advances of an opinion which grew with increasing knowledge, and gathered its strength from holy scripture circulated in the mother tongue through the labour of Wicliffe. Through the wars between Lancaster and York, and the long reign of Henry VII., this opinion continued to root itself in the public mind. The persons who entertained this great and veritable conception did not separate from the church, but, retaining their position in its pale, were dragged forth and executed as its incorrigible children. In this character they suffered, both while the great experiment of ecclesiastical subserviency was working out, and when the assumption of supremacy by Henry VIII. in 1534, completed the additional experience of 252 years. To unprejudiced minds the whole of this experience produced nothing but confirmation of Wicliffe's ancient doctrine. Scripture without submission to ecclesiastical decrees appeared more obviously to form the sole resource of man. When Tyndale, first roused by the impudent corruptions that prevailed in the diocese of Worcester, resolved that the ploughmen of England should know more of scripture than these clergy, he found a refuge, while performing his task, in Antwerp, with the merchants, and,

from 1527 to 1536, was, with his holy associates, pouring into England editions of his New Testament, and other writings, and thus multiplying advocates of the same truth. Varied as the questions were which rose in the detail of disputes, though ecclesiastical affairs were seen in the light of holy scripture, now widely diffused and prayerfully studied, none of the leading advocates ventured to separate from the Church of England. The martyrs were consumed within her pale; but she gained no strength from the blood of her children. The scripture students of these times, whether in the court or amongst the peasantry, whether clergymen or not, saw the church subjected to the crown, and labouring for edification in private, or in companies, as they could best obtain it, waited for regal authority to effect the reformation which scripture taught them to desire. Tyndale and his holy brethren in Antwerp ventured no farther. The congregation of believers in London, sometimes meeting in the church in Milk Street, Cheapside, sometimes from house to house, from whose number seven were burned in Smithfield in 1558, went no farther. They were a kind of church within the church. Widely diffused through the country, extensively known to each other, communing in worship and in suffering where and when they could, differing in their individual attainments, but commended to each other by their personal piety, these individuals formed a spiritual community in themselves, every where protesting against the corruption of the Establishment, but no where separating from it. Out of this class, living from age to age, through all national changes, from Wicliffe in 1382, to Tyndale in 1536, and through all the succeeding reigns of Edward, Mary, Elizabeth, James, and Charles I., still bemoaning its corruptions, but adhering to its fellowship, rose the Puritans and Nonconformists, to whom Canne, in 1634, appealing to their own writings, lifted up the standard of necessary separation. They still lingered for a corrective movement in the civil power, he asked them to advance without it.

A glance at the foregoing facts will show how inaccurate

has been the first elementary position taken by modern defenders of the English hierarchy. They claim for it the reputation of having introduced the saving knowledge of Christ into these realms; whereas, that knowledge of Christ existed here before Augustine came; and that system which he introduced, warring, in all its operations, with that subjection to his word which Christ demands, became, in itself, a channel through which the wealth of England was conveyed to Rome; and, in return, the beastly corruptions of Italy were imported into England. It is also assumed, in every age, that those who dissent from the English hierarchy are only *new* obtruders on public notice, while these facts prove, that this appeal to scripture against the English hierarchy, was made at its very beginning, and has continued to this very day. It was pleaded by the advocates from Bangor-Iscoed in conference with Augustine in 599; it was renewed by Wicliffe in 1382; it was revived by Tyndale, from 1524 to 1536, when he was martyred, and the same appeal to scripture is again made by Canne, from 1634 to 1667. This appeal to scripture, without subjection to ecclesiastical decrees, has formed the one great element of English Christianity, against which the hierarchy has employed her utmost power, but against which she never has been suffered to prevail.

God, when his simple declarations of divine truth are not received, teacheth men by experience; and, it will be useful to observe the stages through which this problem has been worked. The mild proposals of Augustine, how kindly soever designed, having in them the principle of hierarchical subjection, never failed to exert their growing influence until John resigned his crown, A.D. 1213. The conflict from John to Henry IV. recovered just one point, the rescue of church patronage from direct hierarchical control, and roused the nation once more to assert its right of appeal to the word of God. From Henry IV. to Henry VIII., the church and the throne were working a coalition; in the latter reign, half the entire property of England was in the hands of the clergy, together with the chief offices of state. When Wolsey had

fallen, Henry VIII. assumed the supremacy; and, at the call of Tyndale, the nation once more asserted its right of appeal to the word of God. It was done now with greater effect; aided by the art of printing, the advocates of divine truth, and those who sought to control their labour, produced between the years 1527 and 1611, 278 editions, consisting at least of copies of the whole Bible, or of the New Testament; these were brought into circulation amongst the people. The effect of this Bible reading was seen everywhere, from the court to the rural hamlets. The hierarchy, now called protestant, but still retaining her papal constitution, and holding still her coalition with the throne, weakened in every limb, and therefore more subservient to royal mandates, yielding bit by bit the smallest possible amount of reformation, had, after 1611, to meet the Puritans and Nonconformists in their multiplied demands, while every hour the British hemisphere became penetrated with the light of day. The proximity of the parties, and the information amongst the people, rendered the feeling of this conflict severely acrimonious. The Nonconformists, pleading the sacred rights of conscience, exhibited and denounced in the protestant hierarchy all that was fatal in its popish character, and against such hierarchical corruption bearing their protest to the throne, they asked for reformation. To enumerate the injuries they suffered in this conflict is not designed; these facts will show the ground on which the work of Canne was published in 1634. He saw that the Nonconformists had to take one more step before they deserved to prevail. To denounce a church as popish, &c., and yet retain a place in its communion, was to hold an alliance with its sin, and to merit an implication in its punishment; whatever the motive that influenced them in retaining it, their position in the hierarchy neutralized their declaration of its impurities; in making such statements as are here given by Canne, before the Nonconformists could claim to be heard, they were bound to become separate from the impieties they condemned, and from the hierarchy which protected them.

The impracticability of working out an effective church reform in the position which the Nonconformists occupied, is also shown by the facts which are here adduced. The principle of submitting to human authority, whether papal or regal, whether the seat of that domination be in England or elsewhere, is, in the conduct of religious duties, essentially bad in itself. The thing which is done because man has appointed it, cannot be called an act of religion, except in that modified sense in which Christians bear injuries for Christ's sake. This endurance of wrong for Christ's sake, moreover, extends only to such cases as involve no implication in the wrong, but *merely* endurance. Any moral action, forming a part of religious worship, loses its character by being performed, because it was appointed by men. To reform a church, already in connexion with the state, and having an earthly king for its head, so that its decrees might be enforced on the observance of the nation, forms an object which, in the light of Christianity, is *totally*, and in itself, *absurd*. It is seeking a scriptural method of doing what scripture condemns, or of making a man irreligious in performing religious services. The effect of such attempts is seen through all the history of our nation; in the advance of spiritual rulers from bad to worse; and in the outbreak of religious feeling whenever the Lord has in mercy produced it in the people. Piety is thus reduced to an insubordinate position, and labours with discredit; while spiritual discipline, an institution of Christ, is degraded by corruption and tyranny. Refinement is, on the supposition, of no utility whatever. The monasteries professed to retire from the world and seek perfection; but, admitting a man in the place of God, their inmates became infamous for pollution, requiring as many courtezans as monks; the secular clergy associated with society, and professed adherence to common sense, but their ambition became unlimited, and, when that ambition was crossed, they did not shrink from perfidy and murder. With professions of reform the whole system of hierarchical power, whether the king was subject, a partner, or supreme, continued from Augustine to

grow worse and worse, more mean, sordid, cruel, and demoralising, until the massacre of Chester was followed by the murder of Hunne in a bishop's palace, the martyrdom of Tyndale and Frith, the protracted barbarities inflicted on Cartwright, and the terrible proceedings of the Star Chamber. The system itself was corrupt, and did not admit of reformation, the only resource it left for pious men was that supplied in separation, and the force of moral testimony.

The peculiar tenet by which Canne became distinguished, was only the natural result of his strict adherence to the word of God. This must have formed the difference of view between the ancient British and Scottish Christians and Augustine with his monks from Rome, respecting Christian baptism. These forefathers did not administer baptism as they did at Rome, but as it was taught in scripture. In the same way, after the reading of scripture was restored to the people, by Wicliffe, many began to doubt the validity of infant baptism, as well as of the attendant Roman absurdities. This was forced on their attention in two ways:—First, in considering the instructions of scripture which relate to the constitution and government of the church, the question, Who ought to be its members and receive its ordinances? could not be avoided; and the answer to that question is as distinctly conclusive, that the church of Christ consisted originally, and was designed to consist only, of those who believe in his name, and partake of his mercy. This fact was recognised by all the Lollards, by Tyndale, and by the congregation of London whose brethren were burned in Smithfield in 1558; but all these parties avoided, as far as possible, the passing of any judgment on external rites or ordinances of the Christian faith. This was the special advice given by Tyndale in his communications with Frith in 1532. But whatever policy they adopted, the opinions of individuals were formed. The absence of all authority in holy scripture for baptizing infants, and the positive incorporation of believers in one great privileged and separated community, could not fail to fix the attention of multitudes. These facts

did fix their attention. The notice of Anabaptists, as they were called in the persecuting acts of Henry VIII.; the arrival in this country of congregations who adhered to that practice in the early part of his reign; the notice given (in M'Cree's Life of Knox,) of persons and of communities holding that doctrine and adhering to that practice, and above all, the flagrant denunciation of such persons as "bloody murderers of infants," in the catechism of Becon, published in the reign of Edward VI., together with the martyrdom of such in the same reign, as well as their persecution in subsequent reigns, not only by the ruling power, but also by the Puritans themselves, distinctly prove that the idea of confining the fellowship and ordinances of the Christian church to persons who had given proof of Christian faith and principle, was, by the reading of holy scripture, evolved in the minds of Englishmen. From this point the Puritans, in the days of Canne, shrunk with fear and trembling. It not only struck at the present condition of the English hierarchy, but it laid a platform for church government on which no *national* hierarchy could be formed. By confining the church and its sacraments to converted persons, it left the infantine and the unbelieving mass, without the pale, as objects of aggressive and sympathizing zeal, until they had repented and believed. It restored the community of faith, and ranged its elements in sober and prayerful testimony against the whole mass of infidelity in every form. It separated the church from the world, and involved the sacrifice of those worldly interests and that worldly power for which the fierce and lasting conflict, between kings and clergy, conformists and nonconformists, had been sustained. This was going too far for the nonconformists, it was giving up too much, it was returning too near to the ancient and inspired model of church communion and government. They were not prepared to follow Infinite Wisdom without any modification of its edicts, and therefore they had their reward. The nonconformists worked out their own experiment in the commonwealth, and, as far as their religious policy is concerned, merited the rebuke of

Butler in his *Hudibras*. The proposal of Canne remains, approved by the experience of 213 years; which, since his work was published, has combined with that evidence which he himself supplies from nonconformist writings of his time, the experience of antecedent ages, and the full authority of holy scripture to remove all doubt, and show that the expedient of separation is not only necessary in the case supposed, but forms the chief and most powerful means left for God's people, of resisting spiritual corruption, and the merciful term of their exemption from its punishments. "Come out of her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." Rev. xviii. 4.

SECTION II.

THE PARTIES AND AUTHORS TO WHOM CANNE'S WRITINGS WERE ADDRESSED.

THE conflict of the Nonconformists began properly at the accession of Elizabeth to the throne, when papal authority was once more driven from the hierarchical establishment of England. As the nature of a change which transferred the nation, by force, from one religious worship and authority to another, might lead one to expect, many were dissatisfied with the system introduced, and expressed their dissatisfaction in no measured terms. A sufficient reason for this difference of feelings in the people might be found, if nothing further tended to produce it, in the dissimilarity between the papal hierarchy and that which was designated the Reformed Church of England. It was not to be expected that a whole nation could be so devoid of principle, or of preference, at least, as to be transferred quietly, as the soil, by legal conveyance,

from one inheritor to another. The parties themselves who operated the change did not expect it, they anticipated difficulties, and by the measures they employed to diminish, they increased them. To conciliate the superstitious, and those who desired to use the political power of popery, they retained as much of that system as could be reconciled to the social efficacy of the change, and this induced a stronger opposition from those who had become students of holy scripture, and advocates for evangelical obedience to its instructions.

A glance at the two previous reigns will show how necessarily these difficulties must have been augmented by passing events. The government of Edward VI., both civil and ecclesiastical, had been stedfastly engaged in modifying the public ceremonies of religion and its declared doctrines, to make them suit those popular tastes which had grown up through ages of subjection to Rome, and yet attain to some apparent conformity with the teachings of holy scripture, which had been so widely disseminated during that and the preceding reign. Cut off in his youth, time was not obtained to consolidate his work. The Book of Common Prayer was composed and authorized, the Articles were drawn up and issued as the elements of Christian doctrine to be received, and much was done to adapt the labours of the clergy to the wants of the people; but the work was in no sense completed. The popular reliance on ceremonies and their supposed effect was not eradicated, and the system introduced was not adapted to produce that result. It contained the assumption of sacramental efficacy in itself, and on those grounds, asserted and claimed an apostolical authority in its priesthood, and therefore the Reformed church of England was never adapted to overthrow, however it might modify and refurnish, the fabric of superstition. The alterations introduced by law did not reach the principle; but the appropriations of church property obliged the clergy to diminish the agency employed, and the expensive show of their worship: so that instead of appearing in the character

of a *new* church, and putting forth the vigour of a new *principle*, the English Reformed Establishment presented itself to the English people as an old friend with a new face, who, by professing a reformation, now declared her own former delinquencies, and, by retaining the principle of her former errors destroyed all confidence in her professed improvement. This might have been modified a little, if Edward and his ministers could have obtained more time; but his early death prevented their advancing to any point from which their reformation might appear, so as to command respect. All that Cranmer and his associates effectuated, was, by exhibiting their feeble resemblance of popery, to facilitate in many minds an open return to the reality.

During this eventful period, the parties in subjection and concealment demand quite as much attention as those which, from their temporary ascendancy, have filled successively the attention of historians. Many circumstances combine to show that each was nearly equal to the other. The papal had the advantage of legal precedence, and found support in many popular prejudices created in its favour; but the protestant had greater advantage in youthful vigour and vivacity, and could make a more direct appeal to the word of God. Each party also had nobility on its side, and the nobility on each side were united in an heir-apparent to the throne of its own creed. The actual aggregate of numbers, at the close of Henry VIII.'s reign was, probably, on the side of popery; but its vices were so glaring, that no great struggle was required in producing the reformed establishment; and if that reformed establishment had been so constituted as to obtain a more full and unquestionable support from those holy writings to which it appeals, its position would have been too strong for the enfeebled forces of popery to regain. It was the want of this adequate support from holy scripture that produced the change through which the hierarchy was labouring to pass in the reign of Mary and her consort, Philip of Spain. By this defect she lost the reverence and support of those prayerful students of the word of God, who were daily multi-

plying; and though they did not forsake the hierarchy, yet, within its pale, had fellowship with each other, forming, as one may say, in the hierarchy itself a separate community; to which the question, Whether papal or protestant episcopacy should prevail? became daily of less importance, because every transaction proved that to each it was equally obnoxious; and from neither could that separated brotherhood expect assistance or even friendly toleration. Stigmatized by terms, which through its virtue came at length to command respect, this internal community, rising from the days of Tyndale into more distinctness of form, grew, by additions acquired from the colleges founded by Wolsey, and the growth of biblical literature, into such importance, that, had it been well organized and separated for its work, it would have soon held the balance of power between these two competitors for ecclesiastical supremacy. A studious mass of population like this, devouring editions of the Bible as fast as they could be produced, and meeting sometimes by thousands, round the martyr-fires which consumed their brethren, and secretly, or as they could, to worship the all-seeing God, and bathe their souls in his communications of mercy, and in mutual expressions of fraternal love, cannot be unimportant in the time of its existence, nor undeserving of attention in the record of history. Such was the community, or "*congregation*" of Puritans, or whatever they be designated, which, during the reign of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., without separating from the hierarchy, conducted within its pale such worship and study of scripture as was found conducive to edification. It does not include the Baptist congregations, though some of that persuasion were often found in its fellowship. By the advice of Tyndale to Frith, it avoided the discussion of sacraments, and confined the reading and worship to such teachings of scripture as related to the work of redemption and its application to mankind. Such a congregation *in the Establishment*, is traceable as early as 1531, before the death of Bainham, and in 1533, before the heroic martyrdom of John Frith. Again it is found in

1555-6, at the martyrdom of Rose, and at that of John Rough, in 1557. This congregation is found again at Plumber's Hall, in 1567; and Robert Brown, in 1571, with Handson and the Dutch refugees at Bury in Suffolk, appear to have contemplated little more than the promotion of such a congregation as might have spread in the Establishment, and ultimately have superseded or become itself the hierarchy.

Brown, it would seem, derived more importance and influence from his relationship to Burleigh, the prime minister of Elizabeth, than from any greatness of character, or consistent adherence to principle found in himself; but this fraternity, formed within the established hierarchy, contained, at different times, men whose existence at any period could not fail to influence the nature and cause of events. Tyndale was of this character. However concealed, his influence was exerted through all the organization of the English empire, from the throne to the meanest officer. He had agents in all the universities, and in every larger combination of the people, reading his books and diffusing his sentiments. The holy convocation had no more serious deliberation, and the Right Reverend Fathers in God regarded no part of their function so sacred, as that by which they seemed to be set apart and consecrated to use their utmost efforts, to penetrate the assemblies where his translations of scripture were read, and to bring forth, by violence or stratagem, this translator of God's truth to be murdered under their denunciation. The man, who was sought with so much diligence and expensive care, resisted, betrayed, imprisoned, denounced, and put to death, at such terrific cost of time, money, and above all, of character, by the king, his chancellor (More), and by those to whom character should be most important—the holy apostolical clergy, could not have been an uninfluential or unimportant man. Monarchs contended for the command of his person, as they would have done for the possession of a province. Frith was more youthful, but imbibed the spirit of his teacher, as Timothy did that of Paul, while the civil injustice and the sacerdotal blasphemy which combined in handing

him to the flames, testify most unequivocally, how much the operations of him and of his brethren were dreaded in the darkness of this world. These brethren in the Lord, though they did not separate from the Church Establishment, had, by mutual study of the holy word, and protracted supplication of its Author, cultivated a piety which absolutely commanded reverence even from those who persecuted them unto death. The exercises of their faith in dungeons, in banishments, in the most cruel of personal injuries, and in the martyrdom by fire, present themselves to the student of that age invested with features that are absolutely sublime. [Sept. 17, 1557.] John Rough attended the burning of four martyrs at Islington, as he said, "*to learn the way ;*" and, on the 27th of June, 1556, "twenty thousand" persons or nearly, attended the burning of thirteen brethren at Bow, whose *ends* generally, in coming there and to such like executions, were to *strengthen themselves in the profession of the gospel*, and to *exhort and comfort* those who were to die! Imagination falters under an effort to realize the depth of emotion and moral grandeur which attended these whole burnt-offerings sacrificed in the hierarchy to a God of mercy and of truth: and imagination would fail, in like manner, to realize any notion of the moral power which these scenes exerted over passing events; but for the fact that, in Smithfield, on the 28th of June, 1558, at the burning of Holland and his six associates, Bentham and his congregation being present, crying, in defiance of a prohibitory law, "*Almighty God, for Christ's sake help them ;*" the terrible and unanimous, "Amen! Amen!" responding from the multitude finished these infernal exhibitions in London. From its report, Bonner, who had too much intelligence to merit an apology for his crimes, learnt that he had reached the limit of impunity. At this *Amen*, the monster of this *fiery* persecution fled into the provinces, from whence it was speedily driven to the place from whence it rose.

Properly to understand this age, the continued existence and constant increase of this congregation *in the Church of*

England, must be recognized through all its political and ecclesiastical changes. From Tyndale, down to Cromwell, it never ceased to exist; and, however misrepresented and denounced, something in every change had reference to this party. By every one professing to be supreme, its existence was more felt than acknowledged; and whether the hierarchy was designated papal or protestant, its rulers were compelled to regard, in some way, these Bible students and worshippers within its own pale. The change in law which, during the reign of Henry VIII., made a religious difference between the subject and his ruler to be constructive treason, was designed for their destruction. The wide circulation of scripture was intended to conciliate them, while Henry absorbed the church estates; and the monopoly of the word of God, at which Henry aimed, would enable him to command its supply. In the reign of Edward VI. a similar fact is to be observed. In the Articles and Prayer Book of the hierarchy as then reformed, so much of the papal doctrine, and especially of its *opus operatum*, has been retained, as positively proves the operators of that change to be chiefly concerned how they might secure a visible separation from papal supremacy, with the smallest alteration possible, in doctrine and ceremonial worship, that the demands of its Bible-reading members would allow. Though these students and observers of Divine law were in this reign persecuted even unto death, the Prayer Book and Articles clearly show a design to yield as much as possible of their demand, and take from them every legitimate ground for complaint. The reformers of Edward VI. first facilitated conformity, and then enforced it with imprisonments, fines, banishment, and flame.

The reign of Edward VI. from October 12, 1547, until June, 1553, a period of not more than six years and six months, was too short, if used by the most powerful and undivided genius, for effecting much towards the combining of a large and divided population in one form of worship, and in one theory of religious doctrine. Feeble as Edward was from youth and sickness, this short time was rendered less pro-

ductive than it might have been; and other troubles springing from those who administered the government, still further diminished the actual result. In fact, the struggle operated so far as to make adherents to the catholic system lament more deeply its loss, but failed to evolve any feature in the one proposed, adapted to command respect in them, or in the persecuted adherents to scriptural instruction, now designated "*the new learning.*" To this fact must be ascribed the extreme ease with which, under Mary, the papal system was restored. The Catholics were penetrated with a sense of the wrongs they had endured; and, as a substitute for their hierarchy, both in theory and practice, despised the one proposed, while the persecuted congregation in the Establishment, and others without its pale, aided the falling system with a feebler hand, because they knew, by bitter experience, that the return of popery could bring no greater restriction to their liberty, and no greater injury to their persons, than they had endured. To them the hierarchy was equally oppressive and unrelenting, whether it was designated protestant or catholic; under each, she was equally unrelenting towards heretics, and without mercy to her nonconforming children.

Party interests have induced an eloquent display of hierarchical enormities perpetrated in the reign of Mary; they are bad enough without any exaggeration; but, from the same cause, similar cruelties in the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and of Elizabeth, have been covered with a veil, as if history had been written, not by justice and truth, but by charity which hideth the multitude of sins. Such charity was needed; yet, not more by one party than the other. It was needed by the hierarchy, as such, in all her garbs, whether her decrees were uttered, and her actions perpetrated, by officers and servants who held the catholic or protestant faith, or by others to whom all forms of faith whatever were alike indifferent. The reign of Mary, from 1553 to 1558, was shorter than that of Edward; but, in its chief object, it had one advantage; the papal character of the hierarchy which she desired to restore, had not to be *invented*. Many of

the ecclesiastical estates had been absorbed by Henry, but the measures for restoring the secular clergy were direct, and men who had been familiar with antecedent policies were at hand. Cardinal Pole, Bonner, Gardiner, and others, were prepared to enter on the work with all their genius; and the fruitless attempt of Northumberland to divert the accession from Mary to Lady Jane Grey, gave augmented acrimony to the religious conflict. It was conducted rather as a struggle for royal existence than religious supremacy. Men were condemned to the flames from political motives, under cover of their religious belief. Cranmer recanted, but found that recantation would not save him; his conspiracy could not be obliterated by a denial of his faith. Strengthened in purpose by these subsidiary and political motives, the hierarchy forced its papal character towards completeness, until a reaction became too manifest for Bonner to despise. The scene already described at the martyrdom in Smithfield, in 1558, left no mistake. Had Mary lived, and with the same determination maintained her policy of subduing by torture and flames, a shorter period than that through which she reigned (about five years), would have found her throne and hierarchy involved, together, in one irretrievable catastrophe.

Having made her way to the throne by defeating and executing a protestant rival and her party, it was to be expected that Mary would treat the adherents to that party with no particular clemency. This expectation was realized; but the monarch having obtained the supremacy she sought, used the expedient for confirming her power so as to defeat her own design. Her first step involved an error in judgment as well as a departure from principle. She promised the people a religious freedom which she must have known was contrary to her own intentions, and still more to those of her advisers; and, when her object had been obtained, through the faith with which this promise was received, she not only violated her engagement, but shamefully exposed in a pillory the man who had courage to remind her of her compact. This double error, without considering or questioning the

moral excellence of those who conceived it and carried it into execution, must have been received upon a miscalculation. The Protestants were not to be estimated by the men who, in the hierarchy, with Cranmer at their head, waited to display their plasticity in obedience to her command. These were the political religionists of that age, who loved a name for what they could obtain by it, and were ready to resign that name whenever it would bring them nothing; but besides these, Mary might have seen another class, differing from Cranmer in this, that they *sacrificed*, while he *spared*, no other blood or interest but his own. To these men, studying devoutly the word of God, the world she wished to rule had lost its charm, and therefore the policy by which she ruled had lost its terror. They were not afraid to die; and, though a death by fire was not especially desirable, yet, leaning on their covenant-keeping God, they could venture even upon this. These wonderful men, baptized into the spirit of their Lord, amongst their many injuries, sought for themselves, in the Establishment, a secrecy which destroyed their power, and beguiled their prince. She might conquer Cranmer; his guilty soul, stained with the blood he shed in martyrdoms, could never rise above the flame which he himself had lighted more than once; but these scripture-reading believers in the Lord, whom she and Cranmer desired equally to destroy, Mary could not conquer. The sombre but joyous magnanimity of Frith unclothed an element in human nature which human expedients can never overcome. This moral greatness had but one real disadvantage, which always attends its approaches to this guilty world, it was not known; men could not understand it. Such holy attachment to the truth and fellowship of God appeared unnatural in men; the power of their principles was lost, because men could not believe in their reality. Mary was their helper in this. Instead of strengthening her own power, her barbarous executions fixed in the eyes of all mankind the congregation which distressed the hierarchy. Its members would not be Separatists; she made them so. They wished to conceal the light, and placed

it under a corn-measure ; she, with no friendly aim, searched it out and placed it on a lamp-stand, and it lighted all the house. In the reign of Edward, the principle of the Puritans was suspected; in 1558, round the fearful holocaust of Smithfield, England pronounced her judgment on the case. The wondering spectators, in defiance of a special prohibitory proclamation, testified to Holland and his fellow sufferers, "WE KNOW THEY ARE THE PEOPLE OF GOD."

This verdict, uttered by a nation's voice, which thrilled the court, and could not be mistaken, forms a key to many historical mysteries connected with those times. It was the chief result of Mary's reign. She seems to have existed merely to weaken the hierarchy by another change, and strengthen the congregation by making it known. "*I conceive it is undeniably evident, that the suffering in the time of Queen Mary's days, did more settle and enlarge the bounds of the gospel, than all the preaching did in King Edward the Sixth's reign.*" Fresh Suite against Ceremonies, by Dr. William Ames. 1633. Preface. D. W. L.

This fact, more than any other, explains the difficulty which attended the transition of Elizabeth. She came to the throne with more than ordinary unanimity in the people, and she retained the government for nearly half a century. She had genius, co-operation, and time; but the use of all her advantages, talents, and determination, left the hierarchy weakened by another change. It became protestant in its character again; and, like an oak overpowered by the tempest, it loosened its hold by every undulation, and at length was torn up by its roots. A careful observer will discern in the policy of Elizabeth respecting her English Establishment, the cause of its calamity under Charles, and of the power which was afterwards exerted against it by the commonwealth.

The calm deliberation used at the accession of Elizabeth, in 1558, formed a sure indication that when she did act it would be with decision and effect. For six weeks she considered what changes should be introduced; and on the first of January, by her order, the Litany and Gospels in English

were read in all the churches of London, as they had been in her own chapel. A parliament holden at Westminster decreed, on the 28th of January, that the statutes of Henry VIII. and of Edward VI. be renewed, and those of Mary directed against them repealed, and at the same time uniformity of prayer and administration of sacraments was enacted. Elizabeth thus became supreme head of the church in England, and the outline of her policy was revealed. The convocation of the hierarchy, without a primate, protested without effect, and Dr. Matthew Parker was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559. The other sees, which had nearly all become vacant, were filled with persons friendly to the plan devised, the Catholics were without much severity subdued, and the Thirty-nine Articles were restored to authority in 1563, in which, by article thirty-five, the homilies became enforced. By these arrangements, the students of Divine truth, whose strength had been augmenting through the reign of Mary, saw what they had to expect, and prepared for the encounter.

No name appears earlier in the field of actual nonconformity, than that of John Fox the martyrologist. When summoned by Archbishop Parker to subscribe, this veteran confessor, the student of martyrdoms, produced a New Testament in Greek, and said, "*To this will I subscribe.*" Laurence Humphrey, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, was his "dear friend" and associate. In 1566, Anthony Gilby had appeared and commanded attention by his writings and more vigorous labours. The soldier Barwardinus, or soldier of Barwick, obtained great celebrity. William White, Thomas Rowland, and Robert Hawkins, appear in their prosecutions before Grindal, in 1568; and the first Admonition to parliament, written by Field and Wilcox, appeared in 1570, or 1571. From this moment, one might justly consider the parties to be engaged; and, if a full history were to be written, each great event would show some change in their vigorous and mutual animosities and exertions, until the Puritan parliament, in 1640, overturned both the hierarchy and the throne.

Of those authors to whom John Canne appeals in founding his argument addressed to the Puritans, on the Necessity of a Separation, John Cartwright stands next. Whitgift answered the first Admonition, while Cartwright was writing the second, in 1571: and Cartwright replied to Whitgift, in 1573. A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Regiment, &c., in England, in favour of Whitgift, and Whitgift's own defence of his Reply to the first Admonition, both in opposition to Cartwright, appeared in 1574. Cartwright published the first part of his Reply to these works in 1575. Whitgift produced the Defence of his Answer, in 1576; and Cartwright, the second part of his Second Reply, in 1577. Most of these works are preserved in the British Museum, and in Dr. Williams's Library, and they require to be studied by all who would understand the condition of parties at that time.

In A.D. 1577, on the 21st of April, Whitgift was consecrated bishop of Worcester. This year was rendered still more remarkable by the Queen's letter sent to him and the other bishops of the province, "forbidding the exercises called *Prophecies*, as being practices and rites belonging to religion, not established by parliament and her authority, and opening a door to let in innovation into the established worship. The ordinary way the Queen formerly took, when she had any command or order for her bishops, was to signify her mind to the archbishop of the province, and he sent his letters to each bishop, declaring the Queen's mind and pleasure; but upon the refusal of Archbishop Grindal [of Canterbury] to do this, and to be instrumental in forbidding these *Prophecies*, being convinced in his conscience of the great good they had done, and, being well regulated, might still do, (and for which, therefore, he was suspended by the Queen,) she showed her supreme power in spiritual things remarkably, in sending her letters to the bishops, without any mediation of an archbishop." *Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 81. This event clearly proves that the royal prerogative was assumed in religious affairs to an extent which even the highest of the clergy could not regard, at all times, with complacency. It

also proves that those episcopal offices, of which the Puritans complained as being unscriptural, were by the Queen regarded as offices subject to her own will, both in their appointment, and in the exercise of their functions. The prophesyings here prohibited, formed an administration of divine truth, to which the Puritans adhered as being of Divine authority; and their being thus prohibited by royal authority, in contempt of the primate whom that same authority had exalted to his place, brought the royal prerogative into direct hostility with the ecclesiastical authority of the kingdom, and the clearest requirements of Divine law. This was felt, not only by Grindal, the primate, but by several lords in the Privy Council, many of great influence in the nation, and especially by the Puritans. They felt that they were entering on a struggle for the last shred of privilege purely Christian, and they prepared to use their utmost strength and influence; while many, not prepared to join them openly, were prepared to favour their exertions, and obviously desired their ultimate success.

Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, who never regained the favour and confidence of Elizabeth, died, July 6, 1583. By his removal, the way was open for Whitgift to the primacy; his subserviency and zeal commended him, more than his talents, to the potentate he sought to please. Through him Elizabeth could send to her bishops whatever message she might choose. Her smile would counterbalance, in his esteem, the reproaches of mankind and the frown of God. His conduct in Cambridge, in dealing with Cartwright, his administration in Worcester, and the Welsh marches, where he recommended examination by torture, proved that Whitgift would be *led* by the Queen, and not be *very* particular about what means he used to effect her purpose. He was also not to be despised with respect to genius. He had great penetration, and could well conceal a purpose he designed to prosecute with his utmost power. His use of the oath and interrogatories, *ex officio mero*, and more especially his presenting that infernal process as an exercise of Christian love,

exhibit, in a way which cannot be well mistaken, his capability of using power to serve whom he wished to serve, and sacrifice whom he wished to sacrifice. He was the instrument which Elizabeth required; and to her death, which was speedily followed by his own, she found in him an organ through which her most arbitrary resolutions could be executed with certainty, and though in their nature barbarously cruel, be dressed with plausibilities that gratified her vanity.

The confirmation of Whitgift, as Archbishop of Canterbury, took place in Lambeth, Sept. 23, 1583; and before that month was ended, "*Articles for the regulation of the clergy, and for the better observation of the Laws and Usages of the Church Established,*" were drawn up, by his direction, if not by him. The nature of these Articles is exhibited in the following extract:—

"*First*, That the laws made against the recusants, be put in more due execution: considering the benefits that have grown to the Church thereby, where they have been so executed; and the encouragement which they and others do receive by remiss executing thereof.

"*Secondly*, That all preaching, reading, catechizing, and other such like exercises, in private places and families, whereunto others do resort, being not of the same family, be utterly extinguished; seeing the same was never permitted as lawful, under any Christian magistrate; but is a manifest sign of schism, and a cause of contention in the Church.

"*Thirdly*, That none be permitted to preach, read, and catechize, in the Church, or elsewhere, unless he do four times in the year at the least, say service, and minister the sacraments according to the Book of *Common Prayer*.

"*Fourthly*, That all preachers, or others in ecclesiastical orders, do at all times wear and use such kind of apparel, as is prescribed unto them by the book of *Advertisements*, and her Majesty's injunctions, *anno primo*.

"*Fifthly*, That none be admitted to preach or interpret the scriptures, unless he be a priest, or deacon at the least, admitted thereunto according to the laws of this realm.

“*Sixthly*, That none be permitted to preach, read, catechize, minister the sacraments, or execute any other ecclesiastical function, by what authority soever he be admitted thereunto, unless he first consent and subscribe to these Articles following, before the ordinary of the diocese, wherein he preacheth, readeth, catechizeth, or ministereth the sacraments : viz.—

“I. That her Majesty, under God, hath, and ought to have, the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons, born within her Realm and Dominions, and countries, of what estate ecclesiastical or temporal soever they be ; and that none other foreign power, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or temporal, within her Majesty’s said realms, dominions, and countries.

“II. That the Book of *Common Prayer*, and of ordering bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth nothing in it contrary to the word of God ; and that the same may be lawfully used ; and that he himself will use the form of the said book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and none other.

“III. That he alloweth the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops in both provinces, and the whole clergy in the convocation, holden at London, in the year of our Lord, 1562, and set forth by her Majesty’s authority ; and that he believeth all the Articles therein contained, to be agreeable to the word of God.” *Strype’s Whitgift*, p. 115, &c.

These Articles, with *nine* others, one of which forbade “*the printing and publishing of books and pamphlets, without licence from the archbishop or bishop*,” were “set forth for all persons concerned to take notice of, at their own peril.” “The Archbishop and Bishop of London” “being resolved to put them in force.” These were the Articles which produced the now popular distinction between conforming and nonconforming clergy. Multitudes who took no part with the Puritans, felt the impossibility of subscribing to all that these three articles of subscription comprehend. Some of the most curious writings of that time were produced, to show how the words of the Articles *might* be taken, explained,

and subscribed. Others were made to feel the power of a more intractable conscience. They felt that they could not subscribe the Articles in their first and obvious meaning, and therefore, that they must not subscribe them at all. Hence the non-subscribing, or nonconforming party arose from their refusing the subscription or conformity here required. It must be admitted that Whitgift was not very severe in dealing with those who complied with his demand, their own sense might be given to his words if they would but subscribe them, because he knew that in what sense soever they subscribed the Articles, it was by his own interpretation that they would be carried into effect. The treatment of words, and the penning of signatures, in that way was rather unusual; but there was no lie in it, because it was all done by *clergymen*, and each party knew what the other meant. The one was trying to crush the Puritans, or purify the hierarchy from those who dreaded the law and judgment of God; while the other party, not able to justify the intention so avowed, was adhering to the stuff in the hierarchy, as long as any subterfuge could give them the shadow of a defence. It could not be said that any deception took place, for each connived at what was obvious in the other; but their flagitious desecration of human speech, though perpetrated in ecclesiastical legislation, painfully reveals the demoralizing tendency of all such tests and subscriptions whatsoever. The advantage of the measure came, not to the hierarchy, but to the Puritans. Every clergyman, who feared God and his judgments, was more or less driven to their side; they themselves also, seeing every means employed in their edification pointedly assailed, were urged to more decisive and organized exertion: they felt that without some advancement they must perish.

The chief means adopted by the nonconforming ministers for redress were expostulatory defences in the ecclesiastical courts, before which they were cited, the press, by which they appealed to the people, and petitions to parliament.

In 1583, the 19th of October, with the articles for sub-

scription, a letter requiring a report of all subscribing and non-subscribing clergymen was forwarded to each bishopric in the province of Canterbury. A vigorous prosecution of inquiry, and a general citation of individuals, followed; and, with more or less of decision, the ministers of Devonshire, of Kent, of Suffolk, of Sussex, of Essex, of Ely, of Cheshire, and other places appear as defendants, refusing subscription, and assigning reasons for their non-compliance with the metropolitan's requirements. These documents, which found their way into public, became data on which were based the reasonings of other parties. Their reasons for non-subscription are often so strong and just, that Canne employs them frequently to prove the Necessity for Separation.

Whitgift's Articles laid a severe restriction on the press: but this had no effect in keeping the Puritans from writing to the people. As they could not legally express their minds without submitting their manuscripts to their ecclesiastical superiors before they were printed, they had recourse to foreign printing establishments, and many of their most important works were issued from Antwerp, Amsterdam, and other places on the continent. From these sources, works, in great numbers, found their way into England, in which the question in debate was discussed, and the injury of the Puritans was exhibited with a freedom and force of reasoning and description, which must have been restrained and chastened had the press been free, and had they been printed at home. "*The Counter Poison*," published before 1584, strikes at the vitals of prelacy, professing no restraint and using no respect of persons. Gilby, in "*A View of Antichrist, &c.*," exposes one hundred and fifty vile corruptions then existing, and defended in the English hierarchy; aided by a press exempted from all restraint of English law, Penry, Udall, Fenner, Johnson, Cartwright, Travers, and others of like intention and mental power, reproved and rebuked the spiritual tyranny under which they groaned, without partiality and without hypocrisy. They were so much in earnest that they forgot their own position, and absolutely cut off all

means of consistent retreat. They were not satisfied with the freedom of a foreign press. In 1588, they were working one of their own secretly in England; to avoid detection it was moved from Moulsey in Surrey, to Fausley in Northamptonshire, from thence to Norton, and then to Coventry, to Woolston in Warwickshire, and to the vicinity of Manchester. Before it was detected here, it had issued, besides other works, the tracts of Martin Mar-prelate, which, with a sarcasm which was burning because so just, dealt so unsparingly, in actual statistics of episcopal criminality, that, however abused, they never could be answered. Martin was a servant of all work, and did effectually whatever came into his hand. It was in this earnestness of contention, while the Puritans were suffering all kinds of wrong, that they, in their own defence, placed on record those appalling facts, to which Canne appealed justly, as showing the necessity for separating from a community which they themselves had proved to be in principle and in operation, so irrecoverably *bad*.

The state of the Establishment and its clergy had been brought before parliament, in 1575. Postponed from time to time, "sundry motions and arguments were again made, (in 1580) for the redress of divers pretended enormities in the church, mentioned at large in that petition." The whole business then to be considered was drawn up in *twenty-five* "*Articles*," which, with the answers Whitgift supplied, then being bishop of Worcester, are preserved in his Life by Strype, p. 93, and Appendix ii. No. 3. In these answers Whitgift shows successfully, that what they propose consistent with its essential nature is, already, *provided for* in the laws of the Establishment, and that the *whole* of these proposals could not be adopted without *subverting it altogether*. This result they deprecated, and therefore the Puritans were beaten with their own weapons. They did not seem to perceive that in asking the parliament to give them a national hierarchy, conformable to Divine law, they were asking for an impossibility: because the Divine law, to which they appealed,

authorized and enforced a communion of believers in Christ, which could not in its nature be a national establishment. In 1584, sixteen Articles were presented by the Commons on the same subject, and with a similar result. Eleven propositions "to settle a godly and charitable quietness in the church, &c.," fell before the same answers in the same year. Whitgift proves that these propositions are worth nothing, unless the parties were prepared to go the whole length with *Anabaptists*, deny the baptizing of infants, and ruin the hierarchy altogether. In 1586, a bill and book of the Puritans were presented to Parliament, and Whitgift meets them again with equal success. He treats them as the greatest enemies of the Establishment, and proves that their proposals were fatal to its existence. He impeached their very motives, by appealing to the nature of their request. The inconsistency of their position was bold and glaring. If the case were as bad as they stated it to be, they ought never to have asked for a place in that Establishment. The principles they pleaded would never sustain them in seeking a National Establishment at all. The proposals therefore were treated as an invasion of the royal prerogative: the Parliament was requested to let such things alone; Burleigh himself was censured for interfering with the primate, who gained fresh strength by introduction to the Privy Council, the grant of an ecclesiastical commission, and his prosecutions in the Star Chamber.

Rightly to estimate the worth of this advantage requires attention to another fact. From 1558, when Elizabeth ascended the throne, it had been a matter of intense consideration how the Roman Catholics might be dealt with most effectually. Excepting in the case of the Spanish Armada, there was no great fear of their violence, but neither could they be altogether quieted by violent means; they must be, or at least they must appear to be, refuted. Hence, in 1582, a list of individuals was prepared who might at any time be called to meet the Catholics in discussion. The effect of this was very remarkable; those who were the most effective in

refuting the Papists, became the most indomitable defenders of the Puritans. The arguments that exploded the hierarchy, as it stood in the reign of Mary, bore against it with almost equal force in the reign of Elizabeth; hence the character of Cartwright's answer to the Rhemist's Testament. Whitgift did not like that work to be in his hands; he forbade the veteran to proceed, and prevented his finishing the work; for he had perspicacity to perceive that every shell thrown by Cartwright's battery against St. Peter's, glanced off and burst upon the turrets of Canterbury. Travers was a hero of the same cast; his opposition to popery was too severe to permit his compromising with its image in a protestant establishment. The work, "*De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*," attributed to him, was so searching in its appeals to matters of fact, and the meaning of divine law, that no one could expect from him a connivance at errors received in the English church. He was an object of fear, and the entreaties of Cecil could not procure him a respite from Whitgift's persecutions. Being Lecturer in the Temple, and exceedingly popular, the sentiments advanced by Travers in one service were answered by Hooker in the next. This conflict was terminated by the suspension of Travers; and afterwards Hooker replied to his book on the whole subject of ecclesiastical polity. Hooker died in 1600, before his work was finished; and in 1603 and 1604, Elizabeth, Whitgift, and Cartwright followed him to the judgment which is after death; the hierarchy being weakened by the struggle in its defence, and the Puritans hastening *their* catastrophe by every indication of momentary success.

Both the parties engaged in this contest suffered from their own exertions and successes, because neither had reached the point at which Divine direction gives a security of Divine support; but the consummation required a further conflict of forty-five years. When James I. ascended the throne, in 1603, the Puritans made their object and sufferings visible by their exertions. Amongst other works, in 1604, appeared "*Reasons taken out of God's word, &c., proving the Necessity of*

Reforming our Churches, by Henry Jacob;” and, in the same year, “*An Apology or Defence of such true Christians as are commonly but unjustly called Brownists.*” This was subscribed and published by “the Overseers, Deacons, and Brethren of the English Church in Amsterdam;” it was written by Francis Johnson, a predecessor of John Canne in that charge; “*A Declaration of Ministers in Cheshire*” “and Lincolnshire,” was also presented to the king; and in 1605, an “*Abridgement*” of that declaration was published. “*A Christian and Modest Offer of Conference*” was issued by Henry Jacob, in 1606; referring especially to the injuries inflicted on the Puritans at the so-called Conference holden with James I. at Hampton Court, and proposing the remedy of one that should be unrestrained. Parker, of Wilton, issued his “*Treatise on the Cross,*” &c., 1607; and “*The English Puritan,*” written by Bradshaw, 1604, but translated by Dr. William Ames into Latin, appeared in 1610. The demands of the hierarchy had been so modified as to turn upon the surplice, the cross, and the kneeling; and the resistance of these demands had brought forth still stronger statements, justifying nonconformity. While the “*Apology of Separation*” above-named, “*The Divine Beginning of Christ’s True Visible or Ministerial Church,*” by Henry Jacob,” and Robinson’s “*Justification of Separation,*” evolved the great practical idea which Canne urged, supporting and defending “*Francis Johnson, pastor of the Ancient English Church sojourning in Amsterdam,*” who published his “*Christian Plea,*” &c. in 1617.

“*The Diocesan’s Trial, wherein all the Sinews of Dr. Downham’s Defence are brought into three heads and orderly dissolved, by Paul Baynes,*” was published in 1621; and in 1623, “*A Reply to Dr. Morton’s Defence,*” &c.; anonymous, but written by Dr. William Ames, was printed in Amsterdam. This is a reply to the second part of Dr. Morton’s work, a reply to the first part having been issued before by the same author. Dr. Ames sustained his arguments in these volumes by prefaces written to the works of other authors, and by his “*De Conscientia,*” &c., with other writings. On one side he was

pressed by the Separatists to act consistently with himself; and on the other he was met by "*An Answer rejoined to that much applauded pamphlet of a nameless author, bearing this title, viz., 'A Reply to Dr. Morton's General Defence of Three Nocent Ceremonies,' &c. by Dr. John Burgess, of Sutton Colefield, in 1631.*"

This work of Burgess, exhibiting no inconsiderable degree of mental power, brings before the reader several points important to be considered while studying the argument of Canne.

And, *first*, the general grounds on which conformity was withheld and urged, can scarcely be exhibited with more comprehensive clearness than in the following words:

"Howsoever, there may be many unknown motives which lead men in these days to conformity, yet those which are openly professed may be referred either to Master Sprint's way, who confesseth the ceremonies to be imposed contrary to the rules of God's word, and yet contendeth that they are to be used in case of *deprivation*; or else to Dr. Morton's way, who avoucheth the said ceremonies to be agreeable unto the rules of God's word, and therefore are to be observed simply."—*Dr. Ames in Burgess*, p. 43. "Now he that considereth the matter well shall find that there is no ground for the conscience to rest on, in either of these ways."—*Ibid.*

The argument of Sprint appeared to rest on the assumption that, when brought to the point of deprivation, ministers were bound to submit; because, to withhold submission then, involved a sacrifice of the ministry, and the fellowship of the church; but the ceremonies, though contrary to the word of God, were not so important as the ministry and the fellowship, and therefore to be deprived for withholding submission was to sacrifice the greater for the less. Besides, if the ceremonies were wrong, to withhold the word of life, and give up the fellowship of the church, was a still greater wrong: and still more, therefore, were the two together a greater evil than the one which comprised the ceremonies alone. Had Sprint been reasoning with men

unwilling to impose the ceremonies, his argument might have been more plausible but not sound; as far as it relates to those on whom the reception of these ceremonies was enforced against their convictions of duty, it had no claim to respect whatever. They, as ministers of Christ, were not at liberty to do the evil of the ceremonies, that the good of the ministry might follow. This would be polluting the ministry, not promoting the truth. Besides, the truth needed not to be compromised; its declaration was a propriety acknowledged on both sides. If the hierarchy acknowledged that the truth should be taught, and yet resolved that, in her fellowship, it should *not* be taught *without* the ceremonies, then she must allow her objecting sons and daughters to retire, and to use their conscientious freedom without her pale. Separation was the sole resource with both the parties; if the Puritans felt that Christian truth should be taught, and that Christian fellowship should be maintained, and were compelled, for the sake of what they deemed idolatrous ceremonies, to give up their livings in the hierarchy, they must not suffer the word of God to be withholden on that account, nor forsake their fellowship in Christ; but, with all the power they had, labour to do the good before them in peaceful separation from the evil. It was not to be assumed that Christian fellowship could be enjoyed nowhere but in the hierarchy of England, or that Divine truth ceased to be Divine by being taught without its pale. Each party might suppose itself right, and therefore both should be prepared to suffer inconvenience with patient fidelity. The resting-place of their own arguments formed the separation which Canne proposed; this was the one essential and harmonizing result of their own principles; each party deemed the other wrong and himself right, but both were subjected to the same Lord and expecting his judgment; each party therefore should, upon his own resources, peacefully pursue what he thought that his Lord would approve, without interfering with the other. Each then might, at the coming of his Lord, be received for his good intention; but to abuse and beat each other in the fold

of Jesus, was a poor preparation for judgment, because so expressly forbidden by their common Lord.

The argument of Morton, as justly represented by Ames, does not admit the fact which is assumed in that of Sprint. Sprint allows that the ceremonies were "*imposed contrary to the rules of God's word*:" Morton "avoucheth the said ceremonies to be agreeable unto the rules of God's word, and therefore to be observed simply." This was by far the best position for the hierarchy; and in conducting the argument on this basis, the greater skill was exhibited. The combatants at this point, and on this side, were many and great; it was on that part of the field, too, that all the chief of the Puritans expended their main resources. They appealed to the word of God, and challenged its support of the objected ceremonies; they appealed to the origin of those ceremonies, and proved that it was one with which scripture allowed no religious fellowship; they exhibited the effects of those ceremonies as being everywhere deprecated in the word of God; they proved that the call for those ceremonies proceeded from elements in the hierarchy which scripture did not authorize. As they were pouring the light of Divine truth over and within the ecclesiastical fabric, an unexpected depravity appeared both in its constitution and its movements. In these exposures the Puritans proved too much; they made the case of the hierarchy too bad for Christian fellowship or recognition. On these exhibitions of terrifying depravity, Canne advanced with his decisive overture; from their own statements he showed to the Puritans that they had proved the hierarchy in character to be *beneath* the requirements of Christian communion. Instead, therefore, of contending for hierarchical benefices and honours, he said, for honour and forsafety's sake, come out of her, my brethren, lest ye be partakers of her plagues.

Secondly. Dr. Burgess's reply explains much of the confusion observable in this controversy, by exhibiting a tendency in their movements and reasonings which was equally repulsive and hateful to both the parties. They had opened the

pages of a law which would not be limited by their intentions. It spake for God, and uttered the meaning of the Most High; and desiring to stop short of its appointments, by every incidental reference to Divine truth, these combatants were plunged into diverse absurdities. Thus Dr. Burgess, at page 60, says, "*The cross makes no alteration at all of what Christ did ordain (more than sprinkling instead of dipping, or having witnesses or sureties on giving of the name to the baptized).*" Certainly "*no more,*" but if *as much*, it was sufficient to justify the objections of the Puritans to its use. It might be said, that the cross made *less* "alteration of what Christ *did* ordain" in baptism, than the changing of sprinkling for dipping, and an infant for a believer, and the receiving of a promise from a sponsor where a credible declaration of faith was required from the subject of baptism himself. This was not only altering, but utterly subverting the law and the ordinance of Jesus altogether. It was the admitting of this, the greater and more fatal violation of Divine law, while they contended so fiercely against the lesser fabrication of the cross, that weakened so essentially the argument of the Puritans, and the force of their appeals to conscience. The ceremony of the cross, to which they so seriously objected, disfigured and degraded, but those which they received and practised, superseded and subverted the ordinance of Christian baptism. They not only changed the essential nature of baptism, but also made it a means of changing the whole constituency and constitution of the Christian church. They strained at a gnat, but swallowed the camel. With its heels in their throats, they could plead with effect for no part of the system they proposed for adoption; nor could they command respect from their opponents. It was known by all that their rule of appealing to scripture, as the positive authority of God alone, would, as appears from the above citation, not only destroy their infant sprinkling and infant baptism, but leave without any support the hierarchical elements which they promised to receive with many, if not most, of the alterations they submitted for its improvement. Hence the rejoinder of Dr.

Burgess on page 61. Dr. Ames had said, "Sopping hath some agreement with reason, crossing hath none. Sopping was used by Christ himself the same night and at the same table where the sacrament was appointed; crossing was never used by Christ or his apostles." To this Dr. Burgess smartly replies, "This argument would prove as well the eating of a paschal lamb before the sacrament, to be better than sprinkling of water on the forehead of the baptized; for Christ did the one and the same night, and at the same table where the sacrament was appointed; but neither he, nor his apostles, did the other in baptizing." Thus by driving each other to what they deem absurdity, they reach the truth; for, he adds, "And to this the rule of Dr. Ames applies, '*If it be not commanded it is forbidden.*' Nothing else is fit to be talked of till this phantasy be plucked up, which is the very tap root of *inconformity* and *separation*, yea, and of *anabaptistry* too." p. 67.

The same result is pointed out by Whitgift, in an official document bearing the date 1584. The alterations proposed by the Puritans are there rejected in the following terms:—

"REQUEST. That in the ministration of [baptism], the words (*dost thou believe*) may be pronounced (*do you believe*), to the godfathers; seeing the *Rubric* is, That the minister, when he speaketh these words, shall turn to the godfathers, and not to the child, as was in the Rubric of King Edward's book," &c.

"ANSWER. An unsound request, smelling of divers errors, and heresies about baptism, and proceeding of ignorance, and contrary to the use of the *primitive church*, as it appeareth in *Augustine*, in many places. Impious also, and inconvenient; for how shall the *party baptized* be afterwards charged with his promise in baptism, *if he promise nothing*? Or to what purpose shall the godfathers promise in their own name, &c., seeing the sacrament is not ministered unto them? It is the direct way to the heresy of the *Anabaptists*, which denied the baptizing of infants." *Strype's Whitgift*, book iii., *Appendix*, p. 81, and book iii. p. 197.

A glance at one distinction of Dr. Burgess, and his argument thereupon, will show the inevitable nature of this con-

clusion. He makes the ceremonies for which he pleads, as additions to religious worship merely *preservative*, to class with marginal and Masoretic notes to the Bible, which are additions made to preserve the sense of Divine law, and though not commanded yet are not forbidden; but he adds, "How *additions* may be for preservation, hath been showed; but how any *diminution*, which importeth taking away of something prescribed in the word, can be preservative, I know not." It is this diminution which forms the essential part of the whole question in this controversy. The injunction of Divine law had been overruled in favour of those inventions which were now defended as preservative additions. As the notes and comments had produced the Talmud, Gemara, and oral law, which were called preservative additions, so the preservative additions to divine rites had produced the accumulated absurdities of papal superstition. It was not so much the existence of these human inventions, as the fact that these had made void the law of God, which our Lord so severely reprehended. Taken in itself, the note in a margin might possibly be defended as a *preservative addition*; but how by making void the law of God, the law of God could be preserved, it is most hard to explain. So with the ordinances. It was comparatively trivial to dispute the admissibility of kneeling at the Lord's supper, when they had given up that one feature in the communicants by which alone it could be designated the Lord's supper at *all*. Call it by what name they might, the cross in baptism was trivial compared with the baptism itself; and, universally, the *preservative rites* of the Christian church, if such things could be supposed to exist by man's invention, which is as rational as a preservative fungus in a man's nose, are surely of less importance than the church itself. The fungus is an addition to the nose unquestionably, but whether the addition be *preservative* or not, is a question scarcely worth discussing when the nose is *gone*. That would be a strange preservative cancer which had eaten the nose away. There might also have been a time when it could have been pleaded that the cere-

monies were only *preservative* additions; but surely not now, when by their use the church had become *extinct*. This was the great point on which attention ought to have been fixed. That vast protuberance, of putridity and plasters, spreading itself upon the face of our empire, was not the church of Christ. Its preservative rites might be multiplied in the increase of its disease, but these would not make it a church of Christ. The institution of the Redeemer was superseded, his baptism was gone, his community of recognized believers was gone, his holy supper was gone, his law was made void by the traditions. This Dr. Burgess wished to hide by artistical distinctions, and the Puritans laboured to avoid, because it led them too far. Even those who had separated with Jacob in 1616, shrank from the discussion of this point. It was still fatal to something they wished to retain. Canne faced the point, and hence pleaded, on their own admissions, that Christian duty required, not a modification of the hierarchy, but its rejection altogether.

The reasoning which was based on the supposed nature of the additions, not only would not decide the question, but in the hands of Dr. Burgess was turned right *against the Puritans*. If that which is not permitted by God is prohibited by him, be admitted in its full application, then it must refer to all negative as well as to all positive laws. If, because God had in no place given a *positive permission* to ordain the kneeling, the surplice, and the cross, &c., it was argued that God had therefore *prohibited* the ordaining them: then, because God had nowhere written, Thou shalt *not* ordain the kneeling, the surplice, and the cross, the making of *such an ordinance prohibiting* their use was making a restriction on human liberty, which he, by his very silence on the subject, had condemned. Admitting the premises which both parties plead, both are found to be wrong; the one in ordaining those rites and making them essential to church communion (so called), the other in prohibiting them, and making them a ground of conscientious disobedience to the church in which their fellowship was retained, and which they professed to

love and support. The positive act was, on the same grounds, equally blameable in each case; the one in imposing, and the other in prohibiting that on which God had given no instruction whatever. On this supposition, mankind should have been left, in the church and out of it, perfectly free. The vital question was, to what end did either party use this liberty in which Christ had made them free? The Puritans requested such changes in the hierarchy as might, without changing its essential character, conciliate the Bible-reading members of society, and advance the interests of true religion; the prelates demanded the consolidation of a power, and a uniformity in the hierarchy, by which the aim of government might be advanced and the conciliation of the Papists might be facilitated, if not secured. Each proposal was absurd. The Papists could be conciliated by nothing but popery; and those things which made the hierarchy suited to its national object, rendered it useless to Bible-readers and the cause of spiritual religion. The hierarchy was bad in itself. Its Christian organization was destroyed. Its affinity, in nature and design, with the great apostate, brought the case within the Divine law of personal and collective *separation*.

Thirdly. From this work of Dr. Burgess it appears, that the case of the Puritans involved an obvious and absolute impracticability. Respecting those rules, "whereby" (as they supposed) "*the church of God ought to be guided in her choice of rites and ceremonies*"—they were not themselves agreed. To direct the church, "*in such cases as are not particularly mentioned in scripture,*" many of the Puritans united in laying down rules respecting "edification," "comeliness," and "order:" but Thomas Cartwright adds to these a requirement, "that" such ceremonies "*offend not any, specially the church of God,*" (1 Cor. x. 32,) and "*That they be done to the glory of God,*" (Rom. xiv. 6—9). Mr. Jacob, in his "Necessity for Reformation, printed in 1604," "enjoins, "p. 12, these four rules, *comeliness, edification, avoiding of offence, and God's glory,*" "to be observed in the determining of mere circumstances," "and condemns all mere

"*ecclesiastical rites.*" The last terms ascribed to Jacob, show him to be in advance of Cartwright, for they imply a full application of the rule, that "*whatever is not commanded in the word, must not be in the church;*" or at least, "must not be" (*enforced*) "in the church." But this was the very point of their contention. The parties wished to find, by this application of principles to be observed in all Christian actions whatever, some rules by which a ceremony, not ordained of God by particular precept, might be *enforced* as by his authority. The Puritans required this as much as the hierarchy; and, therefore, they fell with the hierarchy into the condemnation which is due to every man, and to every body of men, by whom the authority of God is assumed where it has never been given. Their cause required them to say, "*Thus saith the Lord,*" where the Lord had not spoken. This was the painful requirement of each, and in each became most fearfully exposed by the other. The position, that nothing which is not commanded in the word, ought to be enforced by discipline in the church, and that nothing which is commanded in the word ought to be neglected or changed, was more nearly reached by Jacob than the rest; but he modified his expressions, and could not go the length of his own principles. An instinctive dread, lest behind these disputed ceremonies should be found some great practical reality, sustained by Divine command, but changed or neglected in all their systems, appeared to thrill the combatants, and to produce that agonizing acrimony with which was imputed and repelled the charge of implication with *Separatists* and *Anabaptists*. The rules propounded by Cartwright, Jacob, the Admonition, and the Abridgement, could go no further than to educe what each party deemed *comely, edifying, courteous, and glorifying to God*: when each party had formed its own opinion on these points, it would have to find a *commandment of God* by which its opinion might be forced upon the other, in any ceremony or practice whatever. If this supposed right of enforcing its own opinion upon others were relinquished, the hierarchy must fall or stand as an apostate in its own strength. Cart-

wright's rules therefore would not serve the turn: and the Puritans could not stand by their application of his rules. Their infant baptism, with its long entail of pernicious and unsightly errors, reminded all the combatants that, in contending for what they designated "*mere ceremonies*," they were superseding a system of church polity, too clearly sustained by Divine authority to be resisted by any expedient other than their assumption of *ecclesiastical authority* over their brethren.

It is painfully instructive to observe, how each party labours to strengthen his argument by assuming the contemptibility of the things in dispute. Every possible care was taken to find in all our language terms the most microscopic to express the littleness of those "*mere ceremonies*," "*rites*"—"circumstances"—"*mere circumstances*," for which their mortal struggle was maintained. The object of this reducing process was, on each side, to condemn more severely the other for resisting or enforcing them. The hierarchical advocate pressed the suffering Puritan by showing how insignificant those points were which he so strongly resisted; but forgot the awful disproportion between the ceremonies he so affected to despise, and the imprisonments, fines, banishments, tortures, and deaths, by which he enforced them. So, on the other hand, the Puritan, to show the hardness of his treatment, pleaded the moderation of his wishes, and his affection for the hierarchy, while with one hand he stabbed her mortally, and with the other blotted, or compromised in her favour, some portion of Divine law. Each was dreadfully in earnest, and the earnestness of each proved that the cause in which he was engaged involved more than he avowed. They were labouring to reach that point in which the one, without detection, might turn his curve into a tangent, and drag the other with him in a new direction. If the hierarchy could only secure this one point, this little in so small a case, if she might only *enforce* conformity in "*mere ceremonies*," her "*mere ceremonies*" would increase and be enforced, until England had out-faced Rome in corruption and audacity: but

what would come if that assumed authority were given up in favour of the Puritans? Would the change terminate with their present demands? Would the three contested points of conformity in "*mere ceremonies*," satisfy them and their associates? It was not thought so, it could not be so. It was concluded that demands for further change would follow, must follow, and the answers of Whitgift and Burgess show it was foreseen that these changes, by greater conformity with Divine law must overturn the hierarchy, or otherwise reduce the Reformation to contempt, by broadly unfolded inconsistency and weakness.

Fourthly. The importance of Canne's proposal, as giving moral strength to the Puritans and practicability to their designs, is seen in the three following particulars.

First, from Dr. Burgess's Reply, p. 45.

"If the apostles, by direction of the Holy Ghost, and upon reasons of common and perpetual equity, did practise themselves, and teach others to practise," "*ceremonies, as inconvenient and evil, in many main and material respects as the ceremonies enjoined and prescribed in our church are supposed to be, then it followeth, that to suffer deprivation for refusing to conform to the ceremonies of our church, is directly contrary to the doctrine and practice of the apostles. But the former is true, ergo, the latter.*"

The most painful character of this argument appears in the artifice with which it is constructed, and the cruelty with which it became repeated and pressed against the suffering Puritans. It assumes that Paul had, with the other apostles, ordained the temporary concessions to human weakness, as then felt, in order to *retain a place in the Jewish or heathen hierarchies*, which is utterly false. It also assumes that these acts of apostolical kindness, done to relieve weak believers, justified hierarchical decrees against the Puritans, however weak, in order to serve or gratify the ruling earthly power. This also is false. It assumes, further, that by these acts of apostolical kindness, the Puritans were condemned for suffering, while the hierarchy was justified in inflicting the penalties

they endured respecting these “nocent ceremonies;” as if the church rulers might inflict excommunication for things indifferent when they pleased, but the church member and church minister could not be persecuted by his fellow man without incurring the frown of God. It would seem from the example of the apostles, that the condemnation would rather fall on those who inflicted evil, of any kind, rather than on those who suffered it, for things indifferent. The word *indifferent* would itself describe the ceremony as one which, having no importance in itself, might be either performed or relinquished as the case required, without any penalty, and could never be applied to a ceremony the neglect of which involved “deprivation,” imprisonment, torture, and excommunication. The words “*inconvenient and evil*,” were also used in a modified and technical sense, in order to conceal the fact that most of the Puritans objected to the ceremonies because of their nature and origin. The abstaining from blood was a Divine appointment, though it belonged to another dispensation; but the sign of the cross, &c., originated with popery, the man of sin. It was Canne’s object to strengthen this point, and to prove that the things in dispute, by their alliance to the man of sin, demanded a voluntary separation for the Lord’s sake.

Secondly. The whole question was involved by suffering the hierarchical pleaders to make the Puritans prove “*that ministers now have*” [not] “*such particular warrant for conformity as the apostles had for applying themselves a little while unto the Jewish ceremonies.*” These words, quoted by Burgess [*Answer, &c.*, p. 47] from the reply of [Dr. Ames?] are used with terrible effect. While the Puritan was showing that ministers have *not* a “*warrant*,” or “*such a warrant*,” or “*such a particular warrant for conformity*,” as the apostles had, &c., the advocates for hierarchical domination employed their whole resource of logical dexterity to baffle them, and frustrate their reasonings. In their position and on the defensive, the Puritans were inexpressibly weak. The plan proposed by Canne was more direct, effectual, and easy. Instead of seeking a warrant for the ministers’ conformity, he

demanded of the hierarchy its warrant for imposing either the ceremonies themselves, or the penalties by which the observance of them was enforced. He threw the burden of proof upon the ecclesiastics, and loaded it with so many and so just demands, that, elephantine as its strength appeared, in argument at least, its back was broken, and the hierarchy was made to struggle for existence. By constantly demanding authority from the word of God for the things which it ordained and enforced in the name of God, the Church of England was compelled to resign its claim to Divine authority, not only respecting the "nocent ceremonies," but also in favour of its essential constitution and relation to the state. The method of the Puritans formed a logical diversion, in which time was sure to wear out public patience, and the utmost possible success could only change the possessors of hierarchical domination, without materially altering its nature and consequences; but Canne laid the axe unto its root. He cut off its claim to the title of a Christian church in any scriptural sense whatever. In the light of Canne's investigation the English hierarchy stands forth as a human fabrication awfully purloining the name of Jesus, and thereby justifying a total separation from its fellowship.

Thirdly. The manner in which Burgess meets the common and obvious axiom, "That a man should [not] do a thing "formally, simply, and in nature evil, for any good," (*Answer*, &c., pp. 48, 59) elucidates still further the weakness of the Puritans and the value of Canne's proposal. Many of the Puritans refused to plead that these ceremonies were, in themselves, essentially wrong, and those who advanced to that position used arguments to prove the wrong which they alleged, that, when carried out, proved more than they intended. The appeal to scripture against the sign of the cross in baptism, would prove the invalidity of infant baptism itself, in which the cross was used, and of many other things in the hierarchy which enforced these ceremonies. As long as the Puritans refused to follow their own arguments to their legitimate results, their pleadings were not respected.

The inconsistency was too obvious to be concealed; and when charged with the consequences they repelled the charge as an injury inflicted on their reputation. The boldest of their writers thus became rejected as inconsistent with themselves, and these, being confronted with the timid, their arguments were made to destroy each other. Burgess claims to his own side the axiom, that evil is no legitimate means for seeking good; and, that duty is ours, but the results with God. He passes from this assumed position to charge the Puritans with confounding the real nature of these ceremonies with their own estimation of them, and multiplies the frivolities of dispute beyond all calculation. To meet him the Puritans required something more definite and conclusive. The character of the Christian church, as a community of accredited believers, the confinement of all ordinances to their use, the supremacy of Divine authority in its conduct and government, and the awful guiltiness of assuming the Divine authority where it was not given, and confounding papal inventions with the institutions of Christ, are doctrines which had to be reduced to practice. Short of this, the Puritans had neither strength nor safety, and to this point, by statements from their own writings, they were urged by Canne in his argument for separation.

Fifthly. The Puritans sustained a grievous disadvantage from defects, concealments, and even improprieties observable in the policies they employed. They were not united in opinion nor in heart, and often were not as faithful to each other as might have been expected. To their governors they presented a divided and discordant front. They had more principle than appeared, and had more power than they knew how to use. Some of their known intentions were kept in the back ground, and many of their principles were not traced to their legitimate results. They often appeared in the character of men who had been *detected*, when they might have commanded reverence, by unitedly declaring at first their whole design. Some of the facts which bear on this feature of their case are mentioned by Burgess, in a way

that was adapted, and perhaps designed, to produce indignation.

“Our illustrious late prince, King James, to this purpose appointed the Conference at Hampton Court; but against this sundry exceptions are taken, and namely, that Doctor Reynolds, and the rest which appeared for them which are against the ceremonies, were not themselves of opinion, that their use is *unlawful*, nor would be brought so far as to say, that others were of that mind. Secondly, that these were not men chosen by them that are interested in the cause. Thirdly, That freedom and liberty of dispute was restrained by the royal presence. Therefore Master Jacob propoundeth a way of conference by writing; where six or eight, or more, chosen for each part, should logically, punctually, and soberly dispute the matter, observing certain good rules by him set down, to which I would wish one added, that the parties should be sworn to speak according to their consciences.

“Mr. Jacob might scarcely brave us with this his offer of conference. For however we might willingly accept it, in hope of gaining our cause; yet he knew well, that this could not be entertained without leave of the state; and as well, that the state would never suffer these things to be questioned of unlawfulness, which Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Chaderton, Dr. Sparks, and the rest the most eminent men of this nation, which seemed to favour that party, would neither affirm to be unlawful, nor be known that any on that side were so weak as to think so.” *Answer Rejoined to a Reply to Dr. Morton. By Dr. John Burgess.* London. 1631. part i., pp. 10, 11.

If some make “conformity their stalking horse, but shoot at religion, or the power of godliness”—“this may justly require the more weariness in our defence of them, but not command us silence;” and “we shall be more able to countermine such pioneers, when we acknowledge, with them, the lawfulness of *conformity*, but protest against their rotten and close ends aimed at. And beside, as way is not to be given to such pretenders of *conformity*, so not to the progress of schism, or inclination to anabaptistical delusions which others aim at, under the covert of opposing these ceremonies as corruptions in the church.” *Ibid*, p. 12.

“When Master Cartwright, (a man very learned, godly, and sharp) had whetted his wits and pen against some of them” [the

ceremonies] “yet he professed to oppose them as *inconvenient*, not as *unlawful*, and therefore persuaded ministers rather to wear the garments than cease their ministry, and teacheth men to receive the sacrament *kneeling*, if they cannot have it otherwise, because though that gesture be (as he taketh it) *incommodious*, yet it is not (saith he) *simply unlawful*. . .

“But they which have written of later times against them, undertake to prove them *simply unlawful*, either to be imposed or used; yea, *will-worship*, *idolathites*, *idolatries*, *idols*, nay, *devils*, as Mr. Parker calls them, in his passionate and gaudy treatise of the *Cross*, the *Abridgment*, Master Bradshaw’s Twelve Arguments, the book called ‘*The Old Protestant and the New Formalist* ;’ the *Altar of Damascus*, and others, and namely, that reply with which I join issue, do all stand upon this tenet, *That they are simply unlawful to be used*, and that the ministers of Christ ought to bear silencing and deprivation, whatever waste happen to the churches, or loss to themselves, rather than conform; yea, and the people rather not to receive the sacrament of our Lord’s body and blood, than to receive it *kneeling* : all which must follow if they be simply unlawful : for, we may *not do evil that good may come thereof*.” *Ibid*, pp. 3, 4.

“So far doth this conceit carry some men, that they scarce will give a friendly countenance or salutation to any of different mind; and these do commonly call any small company of their own party, *the Church*, and the *Christians* of such a town, as if Christ were (I say not) *divided* betwixt us, but wholly taken away from us to them; and what wanteth this of schism in the heart?” *Ibid*, p. 5.

“That many upon this ground-work, build the doctrine and practice of *separation* from this church, is nothing so strange to me, as that all of that mind do not so : for if these be idolatrous will-worships, how can, how dare they join with us in those acts and exercises of religion in which they are used? will it be enough not to like them?” *Ibid*, pp. 5, 6.

These three religious ceremonies, therefore, formed a practical ground for petition, negotiation, and dispute, but did not comprehend the whole case of the Puritans. In demanding permission to neglect the observance of these, without pain or penalty, in the hierarchical services and livings, most

of them might agree, and many expected to succeed ; but the most moderate of their writers were far from admitting that relief from conformity in these was all they desired. The extensive and earnest study of holy scripture had taught them, that when the surplice, the cross, and kneeling at the table were removed the hierarchy must stand, in many essential particulars, boldly contrasted with the injunctions of our Lord and apostolical examples. The rule contended for in deciding the validity of these ceremonies, implied a conviction of this fact in both the parties. It was pleaded that "the essentials of discipline are determined in the word of God, but the accidental forms not so." What "the essentials," and "the accidental forms were," had to be determined by the parties in the contention. Burgess, on the authority of Knewstubs and Walsingham, says, that if it would have given the Puritans "*content*," Elizabeth had "*offered to remove these ceremonies ;*" but that "they returned for answer that *they must not leave a hoof behind them.*" It was manifest, therefore, that the removal of these ceremonies was only an instalment, which, when granted, must lead to other and undefined demands. The rulers perceived that change must follow change, without any ascertained limit ; and that the only obvious result of concession before them was the total loss of their control over religious affairs. The hierarchical properties would be retained, and civil support would be demanded by a party which paid no deference to the national enactments, except as they happened to please them, and who kept their ultimate requirements concealed under reservations and professions of loyalty and obedience. In this policy there was nothing dignified. The proposal of Canne was clear. His ultimatum was obvious at first sight. By separating from the hierarchy, and acting in all religious discipline, worship, and zeal, on the authority of Christ alone, he gave up the forced support of national power ; and, whenever its meaning could be ascertained, by leaving the believers in Christ to support their own operations by voluntary contributions, he secured to them an unrestricted freedom in

conforming to the law of their Redeemer. This was the only ground on which the Puritans could apply their own reasonings with effect: it gave consistency to their arguments; and, by shrinking from it, they lost the moral power which was indispensable to their victory.

It was one chief complaint of the Puritans that, "these ceremonies imposed, are, for their use and practice, preferred before necessary duties and principal parts of God's worship; as, to wear a surplice, or preach not; use the sign of the cross, or baptize not; practise other ceremonies, or else you shall not exercise any other ordinances of God." Mr. Hy. in Burgess, p. 212. It was replied, "That this is not the preferring of *wearing a surplice* before preaching, but to prefer an orderly and discreet preacher before one that is factious and exorbitant." It was assumed that these ceremonies were, "though human, yet not impious nor offensive to God:" and that those who refused submission, and reasoned against them, as Dr. Ames did, were more likely "to disturb the church with their furies, than to build it up with their labours." The reasoning by which the first and main supposition was sustained, rested upon a distinction between the parts of worship, some being essential to its act and nature, the other being *accidental, circumstantial, and indifferent*. In the last class they placed the disputed ceremonies; the cross was not identified with the baptism, but was called *signing with the cross after baptism*. Where the line which separated the *essential* from the *indifferent* should be drawn, no one attempted to show. A disputant would plead that the cross was not baptism; the salt was not baptism; the sprinkling was not baptism; the name was not baptism, nor the profession of the sponsors; thus he would back out through all the series of papal inventions, until no part whatever was left essential to the ordinance; while every ordinary observer would understand, by baptism, that ceremony which included them all. The Puritan faced this line of logical fencing with a bold affirmation that, "*neither scripture, nor interpreters of scripture, nor any good reason will*

“allow, that there is any indifferent worship.” “By an idol in general is meant whatsoever, in religion, is brought in without the word of God.” He thus seemed barricaded against all assault; but in reasoning thus, he did not well consider his own position. When brought into application with his own rules, his system was literally shattered. He admitted the sprinkling, the sponsors, and the infant in baptism, which were “brought in without the word of God,” and were therefore “idols;” while he declared that there is not “any indifferent worship,” and with these three idols in his hand, he protested against the idol of the cross; he declared that prelacy was a mass of papal corruption, and yet complained with pathos, because, for the sake of these three ceremonies, he was not permitted to retain his place therein with its emoluments. By this practical inconsistency, he forfeited all claim to the respect of his opponent, and became subjected to discipline as refractory. He repudiated and acted upon the same principle at the same time, and in reference to the same case. His advantage was not promoted, in any view of his case, by the obviousness of the fact, that his principal assumption was wrong. Religious instructions can scarcely be, by possibility, given with so much minuteness as to leave no incidental circumstance undefined; nor does the Father of mercies intend so to confine and cripple his children. When he formed them into a church or family, he intended them to be subject in the thing that he commanded; but free as children to show their own love and fellowship in the Spirit while they were doing it. The law, as defined by Papists and our prelates, is not far from the truth; the main objection lies against their method of applying it. They assumed in favour of an unregenerated corporation, the title, the privilege, the recognition, and the inheritance of the sons of God. When bad men have assumed that they are the temple of the Lord, they will soon speak in that temple as if they were God. Easy progressions trace the whole thoroughfare between these two positions; it was designed that the laws, the ordinances, the privileges, and the inheritances of the church should be given exclusively

to the church, as it was constituted by our Lord, of believing penitents; and when that right incorporation and setting apart had been rejected, the puritanical contest with papal errors in the hierarchy, became a splendid fallacy.

The following from Dr. Ames's Reply and Dr. Burgess's Answer, as given by the latter in his Defence of Dr. Morton, p. 238, D. W. L. copy, will bring the subject of the following Treatise at once before the reader.

Dr. Ames. "Sliding by the chief accusation of *Puritanism*, which yet is most ordinary and most impure, he (Dr. Morton) saith for *schism*, that those who will not conform to our ceremonies, do teach the principles of *separation*; to which I answer :

Dr. Burgess. "Nay, tarry awhile, and see if you reported him truly. He saith, *that out of your school of contradiction, and by your aspersion of no less crime than idolatry itself, upon the Church of England, the Separatists have taken their first principles of separation, which is manifestly true.*

Dr. Ames. "To which I answer, that there was never yet any prelate that confuted the opinion of *Separatists* any otherwise than by railing words; whereas, on this side, divers, most averse from conformity, have soundly confuted them.

Dr. Burgess. "I know not that ever any *prelate* (if thereby he mean a *bishop*) hath at all written in confutation of the *Brownists*. I have seen some of the Inconformists' confutations, which, I confess, never satisfied my conscience; for I am, and have ever been of that opinion, that there can be no just confutation of the *Separatists* made by such of the *Nonconformists* as have given them their main principles; which principles, if I did believe to be true, I profess, in God's presence, I would proclaim separation from idolatrous worship and worshippers this day before I sleep; and not halt, as these men (by their own positions do) betwixt idolatry and religion."

The consideration of two or three other events will greatly assist the reader in rightly appreciating John Canne's appeal to the Puritans on separation. Their efforts to obtain reform, through the government, in the hierarchy, had been prosecuted with great zeal and decision from the accession of

Elizabeth, in 1558, to that of James in 1603; and a brief comparison of the former treatment they received, with the conference holden at Hampton Court, will show what progress they had made in their work: and the national feeling on the accession of Charles I., the treatment of Burton and Laiton, and the power of Laud, will well explain the circumstantial advantage under which Canne addressed the Puritans. In every step of this process, with the generous scheme respecting feoffments, which forms a kind of parenthesis to the whole, we see the advance of our great national experiment working out to its conclusion in the Commonwealth. It was when these social elements were, in 1634, balancing each other, and before the Puritans gained the transient masterdom which, in 1641, they began to exhibit and use, that Canne put forth his persuasive to religious separation.

Perused in the light of former statements herein detailed, the following passages will exhibit the individual character and treatment of the Puritans during Elizabeth's reign. The brethren were taken separately, that they might be subjugated one by one, or in companies, that might with ease be filled, as it was conjectured, with fear and shame from the number, dignity, and power of their persecutors. The Puritans, though not perfect, had too much religious principle to realize, by their weakness, the expectations of their adversaries. In the examination of John Smith, William Nixon, and others, before the bishop of London, the lord mayor, and others in commission, sitting in 1567, one of the sufferers having said, "Reprove that we do hold by the scripture, and
"prove that you would have us come to by the scripture,
"and we will yield to you; and if you cannot, why do you
"persecute us?" The bishop answered, "You are not obedient to the prince;" and the dean of Westminster added, "Doth not Saint Peter say, *Be obedient to all manner (ordinance)*
"*of men?*" The same sufferer answered, "*Yea, as they*
"*obeyed God;*" and William Nixon added, "This hath been
"always the doing of *Popish bishops* when, as they cannot

“ maintain their doings by the scriptures, nor overcome them,
 “ then they make the mayor and the aldermen their servants
 “ and butchers, to punish them that they cannot overcome by
 “ the scripture; but I trust that *you, my lords*, seeing you
 “ have heard and seen it, will take good advisement.” The
 lord mayor, in answer, exclaimed, “ Good Lord, how unre-
 “ verently do you speak here before my lords and us, in
 “ comparing so.” The bishop of London was more calm
 in saying, “ Here you have showed yourselves disorderly,
 “ not only in absenting yourselves from your parish churches,
 “ and the assemblies of other Christians in this commonwealth,
 “ which do quietly obey the queen’s proceedings, and serve
 “ God in such good order, as the queen’s grace and the rest
 “ having authority and wisdom, have set forth and established
 “ by act of parliament; but also you have gathered together,
 “ and made assemblies, using prayers and preachings, yea and
 “ ministering the sacraments among yourselves; and thus
 “ you gather together many times, yea, and no longer ago
 “ than yesterday, you were together to the number of an
 “ hundred; whereof there are about fourteen or fifteen of
 “ you sent to prison: and our being here is to will you to
 “ leave off, or else you shall see the queen’s letter, and the
 “ council’s hands at it.’ Then he opened it, and showed it
 “ us, but would not read it.” *Part of a Register, &c.*, pp. 23
 and 33, D. W. L.

In this way the conflict of the Puritans became a direct
 stand-up fight with legalized and unconcealed episcopal domi-
 nation. It was the boast of a primate, that he did not con-
 tend for religious principle, nor for things which involved it,
 but for order, and subjection in the sufferers. He pleaded
 the *littleness* of his demand in order to justify his method of
 enforcing it; and the following example will show how
 dreadfully that method assumed the feature of unrelenting
 cruelty.

Robert Johnson, formerly minister at Northampton, dates
 his reply to the bishop of Lincoln’s three Articles, August 6,
 1573. He wrote to “ *Master Edward Sandes, superintendent*

“*of Popish corruptions in the diocese of London, February 2, 1573–4.*” His examination took place in “Westminster Hall, February 20, 1573–4.” His examination and replies are recorded by himself, and attested in the Gatehouse Prison. The following letter also was written, “sent, and delivered “to *Dr. Sandes, bishop of London,*” from the same place of confinement.

TO DR. SANDES, ETC.

“Our Saviour Christ saith, *Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy*; and the apostle writeth, *That judgment without mercy shall be to them which show no mercy.* I marvel then what mercy you, with the rest of the commissioners, hope for, and what judgment you look for, seeing for trifles and matters of no weight, nay of no truth, as I doubt not but you are persuaded in your conscience, you do not only molest and mock men, deprave and deprive men, but also condemn them to long imprisonments, to their great impoverishment and utter undoing, without affection of charity or bowels of mercy.

“Where hath God given any such commandment? Where hath Christ showed any such precedent, or where have the apostles put any such things in practice? If you say, we hold errors or be schismatics, or maintain sects, then do you the part of a teacher to reform our errors, to reduce schismatics to union, and sectaries from dissension. This, your office and function, your name and title, your degree and profession, your knowledge and religion, nay rather the apostles, Jesus Christ, yea God himself, requireth. You know who writeth, [*Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness, Gal. vi. 1;*] you know who saith, *Si terrentur et non docerentur, improba dominatio videretur, [if they be terrified and not instructed, the domination will appear iniquitous.]* We acknowledge that we have deserved more a thousand fold at our heavenly Father’s hands, than this his fatherly correction; yet (God be thanked) that neither you nor our adversaries can burden us justly with any thing but as Daniel was in the behalf of his God.

“Enter into the counting-house of your conscience, and call to mind your doctrine heretofore and your doings now, and see how

they agree together. Weigh with yourself the displacing of preachers, and the placing of idle shepherds; the arraignment of the Protestants, the juries of known and suspected Papists; the rejoicing of the one with the sorrows and sighs of the other, and you shall easily see what good this commission (whereof you are thought to be the only means) hath brought to the church of Christ. We may say to you, as the prophet Oded said to the Israelites in the time of Pekah, ‘The Lord God of your fathers was wroth with Judah, and he hath delivered them into your hands, and ye have persecuted them in a rage that reacheth up to heaven.’ But are ye not such? Yes, your sins are with you before the Lord your God.

“If imprisonment to *famish men*, be the next way to correct the wilful, or reduce the ignorant, then where is the office of a shepherd, to bring home that which went astray, and to seek that which was lost? Therefore we beseech you to have some of your treasures gathered out of the Old and New Testament to reduce them which go astray, and to heal that which is bruised and broken. And I pray you let us feel some of your charitable relief, to sustain us and our families from danger of famine in this so hard a world, seeing as you have been the chief of my trouble, I desire you be some part of my comfort. If you had not been, at the first, I had escaped from prison. If your amplifications had not been, at the last, I had not been condemned. Let pity requite spite, and mercy recompense malice. Thus beseeching God that you may proceed faithfully, in all duties of a bishop, I commend you to the chief Bishop, Jesus Christ, who ever preserve you and yours.

“Vinctus tuus in Domino,

“March 7th, 1573-4.”

“Ro[BERT] JOHNSON.

—*Part of a Register*, p. 117, D. W. L., copy.

His last communication is addressed to “*Master Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster*,” in justification of himself and brethren, “about April, 1574.” He was then in the Gatehouse, “where very shortly after he died, being in great necessity.” This was no uncommon case. The charge of acting disorderly, where no religious principle or command of God justified their non-submission, was deemed sufficient to justify the bishops in confining their Puritan brethren; but

within the places of confinement, where the public observation could but very partially follow the proceedings, ingenious and deliberate tortures were inflicted, by want of air, of food, and proper accommodations of every kind, which often terminating life, made the legal murders of Elizabeth's reign more numerous and revolting than those of her predecessors. A fearful but clear corroboration of this manifold cruelty is found in the following expostulatory letter, the testimony of which should have the greater weight with us, because it comes to the ruling episcopacy from Presbyterian ministers, who cherished no sympathy with the system of church polity supported by the bishops and clergy whom they address as brethren.

“The Ministers and Elders of the Churches within the realm of Scotland, to their brethren the bishops and pastors of England, who have renounced the Roman Antichrist, and do profess with them the Lord Jesus in sincerity, desireth [desire] the perpetual increase of his Holy Spirit.

“By word and writ, it is come to our knowledge (reverend pastors) that divers of our dearest brethren, amongst whom are some of the best learned within that realm, are deprived from ecclesiastical function, and forbidden to preach, and say that by you, they are stayed to promote the kingdom of Jesus Christ, because their conscience will not suffer them to take upon them at the commandment of the authority, such garments as idolaters, in time of blindness, have used in their idolatry. Which brute [report] cannot be but dolorous to our hearts, mindful of that sentence of the apostle, saying, ‘If ye bite and devour one another, take heed lest ye be consumed one of another.’

“We purpose not, at this time, to enter into the ground of that question, which we hear of either part to be followed with greater violence, than well liked [pleased] us, to wit, whether such apparel is to be accounted amongst things that are simply indifferent or not: but, in the bowels of Christ Jesus we crave, that Christian charity may so prevail in you,—in you we say, the pastors and leaders of the flock within that realm, that ye do not unto others that which ye would not that others should do unto you. Ye cannot be ignorant, how tender a thing the conscience of man is :

all that have knowledge are not alike persuaded. Your consciences reclaimeth [condemn] not the wearing of such garments : but many thousand both godly and learned are otherwise persuaded, whose consciences are continually stricken with these sentences:— ‘What hath Christ Jesus to do with Belial?’ what fellowship is there betwixt ‘darkness and light?’

“If surplice, corner cap, and tippet, have been badges of idolatry in the very act of idolatry, what hath the preacher of Christian liberty, and the open rebuker of all superstition, to do with the dregs of that Romish beast. Our brethren that, of conscience, refuse that unprofitable apparel, do neither damn [condemn] nor molest you, who use such vain trifles. If ye should do the like to them, we doubt not but therein ye shall please God, and comfort the hearts of many, which are wounded with the extremity, that is used against the godly, and our beloved brethren.

“Colours of rhetoric, or human persuasions, will we use none, but charitably we desire you, to call that sentence of Peter to mind : ‘Feed the flock of God, which is committed to your charge, caring for it not by constraint, but willingly; not as though ye were lords over God’s heritage, but that ye may be examples to the flock.’ And further also we desire you to meditate that sentence of the apostle, saying, ‘Give no offence, neither to the Jew, nor to the Grecian, nor to the church of God.’ In what condition of time ye and we both travail in for the promotion of Christ’s kingdom, we suppose ye not to be ignorant; and therefore we are made bold to exhort you to walk more circumspectly, than that for such vanities the godly should be troubled. For all things that may seem lawful, edify not.

“If the commandment of authority urge the consciences of yours and our brethren, further than they can bear, we unfeignedly crave of you, that ye remember, that ye are called the ‘light of the world, and salt of the earth.’ All called to authority have not the light of God always shining before their eyes, but their affections oftentimes savour over-much of the earth and earthly wisdom: and, therefore, we think ye should boldly open yourselves, to all power that will, or dare extol itself, not only against God, but also against all such as dare burden the consciences of the faithful, further than God hath burdened them by his own word.

“But herein we confess our offence, in that we have entered

further in reasoning, than we promised at the beginning, and therefore we will shortly return to our former humble supplication, which is, that our brethren, who among you refuse the Romish rags, may find of you, the prelates, such favour as your Head and Master commandeth every one of his members to show to other; which we look to receive of your gentleness, not only for that we fear to offend God's majesty in troubling your brethren for such vain trifles, but also because ye will not refuse the humble request of us your brethren and fellow preachers of Christ Jesus: in whom, albeit there appears no great worldly pomp, yet we suppose ye will not so far despise us, but that ye will esteem us, to be of the number of them, that fight against that Romish Antichrist, and travail that the kingdom of Jesus Christ, universally, may be advanced.

"The days are evil, iniquity aboundeth, Christian charity is waxen cold, and therefore we ought more diligently to watch, for the hour is uncertain when the Lord Jesus shall appear: yea, your brethren and we must give accounts of our administration: and thus, in conclusion, we once again crave favour for our brethren; which granted, ye in the Lord shall command us in things of double more importance.

"The Lord Jesus rule your hearts in true fear to the end, and give unto you and unto us, victory over the Romish Antichrist, whose wounded head, Satan by all means laboureth to cure again: but to destruction shall he and his maintainers go, by the power of the Lord Jesus, to whose mighty protection we heartily commit you.

"From Edinburgh, out of our General Assembly and Session there, the 27th of December, anno 1566. Your loving brethren and fellow preachers in Christ Jesus,

"JOHN DAVIDSON for JAMES NICHOLSON, Writer and Clerk of the Church of Edinburgh."

Preserved in part of a Register, pp. 125—127. D. W. L., copy.

The sympathy thus expressed by the ministers of Scotland was professed, if not felt, by James the First before his accession to the English throne. A document, curious in itself, and awfully explanatory of the unprincipled character of that prince, has been preserved by Fuller, book ix.,

sect. vii. § 30, and dated 1591. It was addressed by him to Elizabeth, on behalf of Udall and Cartwright, then in bonds for the truth's sake, and in the following terms:—

“RIGHT EXCELLENT, HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESS, OUR DEAREST SISTER AND COUSIN,

“IN our heartiest manner we recommend us unto you. Hearing of the apprehension of Mr. Udall and Mr. Cartwright, and certain other ministers of the Evangel within your realm, of whose good erudition and faithful travails in the church we hear a very credible commendation, howsoever that their diversity from the bishops and others of your clergy, in matters touching them in conscience, hath been a mean, by their dilation, to work them your misliking; at this present we cannot (weighing the duty which we owe to such as are afflicted for their conscience in that profession) but by our most effectuous and earnest letter interpose us at your hands to stay any harder usage of them for that cause; requesting you most earnestly that for our cause and intercession it may please you to let them be relieved of their present strait, and whatsoever further accusation or pursuit depending on that ground, respecting both their former merit, in setting forth the Evangel, the simplicity of their conscience in this defence which cannot well be, their let by compulsion, and the great slander which could not fail to fall out upon their further streighting [straitness] for any such occasion. Which we assure us your zeal to religion, beside the expectation we have of your good-will to pleasure us, will willingly accord to our request, having such proofs from time to time of our like disposition to you in any matters which you recommend unto us; and thus, right excellent, right high, and mighty princess, our dear sister and cousin, we commit you to God's protection.

“EDINBURGH, *June 12th*, 1591.”

“This letter prevailed little with the queen,” for the prosecutions were continued, and Udall perished in his confinement, though great efforts were made to save him by Sir Walter Raleigh and the Countess of Warwick. Neither the archbishop [Whitgift] nor Elizabeth appeared in any way open to the influence of compassion. It would seem that the letter of James never received a reply; for, when he ascended

the throne of England on Elizabeth's death, "it is said, the "first person he inquired after when he came into this "country, was Mr. Udall; and when he found that he was "dead, he replied, 'By my soul, then, the greatest scholar in "Europe is dead.'"—*Brook's Lives*, vol. i. p. 23.

These documents show, not only the fact of the severity used in Elizabeth's reign, but also the ground on which the Puritans built the high expectations which were cherished of deliverance, or, at least, of amelioration when he reached the throne. Probably James was even then playing quite another game, and certainly the Scotch ministers were not conscious of the troubles through which they, in their own country, had to pass. The Episcopalians, on what data soever they reasoned, with all their fears, made the most accurate calculations. By the influence they exerted, James was turned altogether on their side. His conference, holden at Hampton Court, Jan. 14th, 16th, and 17th, 1603-4, seemed in itself to indicate an advance in Puritan interests, because, from being mere persecuted *individuals*, it gave them a hearing as a body, by their representatives, Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Sparks, Mr. Knewstubs, and Mr. Chaderton. These were met by Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, Bancroft, bishop of London, Matthews of Durham, Bilson of Winchester, Babington of Worcester, Rudd of St. David's, Watson of Chichester, Robinson of Carlisle, and Dove of Peterborough, with seven deans. "The "moderator, King James" himself, and all the lords of the Privy Council being admitted as spectators. This was not giving the Puritans an *equal* chance, but it was admitting them to plead in the hearing of the king; it was an indication of regard, and, as such, raised their hope. With all earnestness they laboured to make the best of their position. They pressed their claims upon their knees as the bishops did. They introduced on the 16th several of the points on which they desired redress; but they had been forestalled by the sitting of the 14th, when all the chief points of dispute had been settled, in their absence, by the king and the clerical members of conference alone. Here they had just ground

for complaint; but on the 16th they had a *hearing*, such as it was. The conference was then thrown more open, as if to show with how much publicity royal perfidy could be united with religious interests, and made to exult over rights which cannot be alienated even by a man himself. The statement of their grievances was by no means perfectly prepared by the Puritans themselves; they seemed to aim at making them as little as they could, as if to win the king by a show of their moderation; and, through the frequent interruption of their clerical opponents, their case appeared worse and weaker than they designed; still, some points were presented and pressed, and the answers they received were confounding. When pleading against the twenty-fifth Article, on Confirmation, the bishop of London (Bancroft) said, "May your majesty be pleased, that the ancient canon may be remembered, *Schismatici contra Episcopos non sunt audiendi*, [schismatics are not to be heard against bishops.] And, there is another decree of a very ancient council,—that no man should be admitted to speak against that whereunto he had formerly subscribed," &c. The personal insult which followed from the bishops in the royal presence may be passed over. The words here quoted show how readily the Puritans were taken in their own snare. In their vehement expostulations against separation, as we have seen, they pleaded for continuance in the Church of England, where subscription to the Articles was indispensable; and it was scarcely more than just that, having signed the articles, their objections should be refused. Their objections should have been given *before* they signed, or when they had adopted the separation which they so zealously condemned. The answers of the king, relieved of their meretricious embellishments of wit, serve well to explain the chief argument which operated on *his* mind, and which operates on the minds of legislators in general, when seeking or sustaining a national episcopacy. When Reynolds asked for an episcopal synod to determine points of discipline, his majesty replied,

"If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agreeth as well with

monarchy, as God and the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick shall meet and censure me and my council, &c. Dr. Reynolds : you have often spoken for my supremacy, and it is well ; but know you any here or elsewhere, who like of the present government ecclesiastical, and dislike my supremacy ?”

Reynolds. “I know none.”

His majesty replied : “Why then, I will tell you a tale.” This for the sake of brevity may be taken off ; the conclusion is in these words : “How they [Knox and the Reformers of Scotland] used the poor lady, my mother, is not unknown, and how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus apply it: my lords the bishops (this he said, putting his hand to his hat), I may thank you that these men plead thus for my supremacy. They think they cannot make their party good against you, but by appealing unto it ; but, if once you were out and they in, I know what would become of my supremacy ; for, ‘No bishop, no king.’ I have learned of what cut they [the Puritans] have been, who preaching before me since my coming into England, passed over, with silence, my being supreme governor in causes ecclesiastical. Well, doctor, have you anything else to say ?”

Dr. Reynolds. “No more, if it please your majesty.”

His Majesty. “If this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves ; or else I will harry them out of the land, or else do worse.”—*Fuller’s Church History*, vol. iii. p. 172—189.

Dr. Reynolds deserved this vulgar rebuke on two accounts ; first, he had kept back much of which his brethren had to complain ; secondly, the work of Mr. Bradshaw, entitled “*A Protestation of the King’s Supremacy*,” contains adulatory concessions and statements which are utterly incompatible with the object they sought. If his doctrine were true, Nonconformity itself would be, as Sir Thomas More had defined it, “*constructive treason* ;” but the most humiliating part of the Conference appeared on the third day, before the Puritan representatives were introduced.

It is most strange that the Puritans in the Conference did not make a more direct and solemn objection to the oath *ex officio*, on which so much had been written by authors on

their side; and, respecting which, Reynolds, and his brethren, could not have been uninformed. It was, however, thus introduced:

“*A nameless Lord.* The proceedings in that court [the High Commission] are like the Spanish Inquisition, wherein men are urged to subscribe more than law requireth; and, by the oath *ex officio*, forced to accuse themselves, being examined upon twenty or twenty-four articles, on a sudden, without deliberation, and for the most part against themselves. In proof hereof, he produced a letter of an ancient honourable counsellor, anno 1584, verifying this usage to two ministers in Cambridgeshire.

“*Archbishop of Canterbury.* Your lordship is deceived in the manner of proceeding; for, if the article touch the party for life, liberty, or scandal, he may refuse to answer. I can say nothing to the particulars of the letter, because twenty years since; yet doubt not, but at leisure, to give your lordship satisfaction.”

“*Lord Chancellor.* There is necessity and use of the oath *ex officio*, in divers courts and causes.

“*His Majesty.* Indeed, civil proceedings only punish facts; but it is requisite that fame and scandals be looked unto in courts ecclesiastical; and yet great moderation is to be used therein. First, In *gravioribus criminibus* [in the more grievous offences.] Secondly, In such whereof there is a public fame, caused by the inordinate demeanour of the offender. And here he soundly described the oath *ex officio*, for the ground thereof, the wisdom of the law therein, the manner of proceeding thereby, and profitable effect from the same.

“*Archbishop of Canterbury.* Undoubtedly, your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God’s Spirit.

“*Bishop of London.* I protest, my heart melteth with joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, hath given us such a king; as, since Christ’s time, the like hath not been.

“This he spake on his knee.”—*Fuller*, *ibid.* p.190. Edition 1837.

A greater moral degradation than that presented in this awful scene can scarcely be attained by human nature. No greater perversion of Divine law than that inquisitorial tribunal which was imitated in the English high commission and its *ex officio* oath, has ever yet been found in all the

range of papal absurdities. It changed the fraternal discipline of mercy into an engine of oppression so cruel and revolting to humanity and common sense, that it came to be abhorred even in Catholic countries, and by popish governments; while Whitgift, by his relentless use of this instrument, had rendered himself so hateful to his countrymen, that those who were in power would not sit with him in the commission, and he was, by his own confession, compelled to introduce members whom, through their servility and subordination, he could compel to attend. His evasion, forecited, for it is no defence, is clearly intended to deceive; for, though the sufferer might, at his own peril, refuse to answer on the oath, yet in that event he was imprisoned and prosecuted for contumacy and contempt of court. This becomes more ruinous in our so-called Ecclesiastical Courts, than any direct suit. Whitgift knew well that multitudes had, by this process, perished under his hand. His use of this subterfuge here, therefore, could not be attended, in his mind, with any conviction of its justness as a defence. Moreover, the line of remark into which the king was led is just that one which Strype has preserved, as used by Whitgift, or his council, to defend his proceedings in the reign of Elizabeth; and when he found this imbecile and unprincipled monarch returning through his teeth the undigested elements of sophistry with which he had been crammed for the occasion, for him, the primate of England to say, "*Undoubtedly your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit,*" involves an approximation to blasphemy too dreadful to be defined. The words uttered by Bancroft on his knee, participate in the same guilty character. The very passion of their speeches proved that the men were not at ease. Such utterances do not indicate the calmness of an intelligent and stedfast virtue. Whitgift knew so well that the course he took was contrary to the general feeling and judgment, that he trembled at the approaching parliament, and desired to die before it met. His forebodings were not to be realized at this time, but his wish was granted. He died of palsy on

the 29th of February, 1603-4; and James attested his perfidy to the Puritans in the following words, written to a friend in Scotland on the 17th or 18th of January, 1603-4. *Strype's Whitgift, Appendix*, book iv. Numb. 46.

"We have kept such a revel with the Puritans here this two days, as was never heard the like: Quhaire [where] I have peppered them as soundly as ye have done the Papists there. It was no reason, that those that will refuse the airy sign of the cross after baptism, should have their purses stuffed with any more solid and substantial crosses. They fled me so from argument to argument, without ever answering me directly, *ut est eorum moris*, as I was forced at last to say unto them, That if any of them had been in a college disputing with their scholars, if any of their disciples had answered them in that sort, they would have fetched him up in the place of a reply; and so should the rod have plied upon the poor boy's buttocks. I have such a book of theirs as may well convert infidels, but it shall never convert me, except by turning me more earnestly against them.

"And thus praying you to commend me to the honest Chamberlane, I bid you heartily farewell.

"JAMES R[EX.]"

The grammar, taste, and morals of a king are not to be discussed here. The result of this conference was that, with a few worthless changes in the Service book, &c., and some points referred to be settled by the bishops a day or two after the consummation of all things, the Puritans obtained from James little more than insult and assurances of greater severity. It was not wonderful that they complained, petitioned, and sent forth "*A Christian and modest offer of conference*," &c.—in which, with equal privilege, they could face their enemies in appealing to the word of God. Their treatment, considered as a civil transaction, would justify any complaint: but why did they remain in fellowship with such unrighteousness? Had they given up their claim to government support, and followed the dictates of their own judgments in obeying the word of God—had they taken a defensible position, and made it religiously unequivocal and disinterested—

James would have anticipated the griefs of his successor, and wrecked his throne by these flagitious levities.

Many things are on record that explain and aggravate this "foul defection" of the king: but the purpose we have to obtain will be secured more perfectly by looking at the ameliorating circumstances. James's responses and speeches in the conference show, not only the state of his mind, but also the state of the case. The national episcopacy was, and is, sustained as a support to the throne; and, as such, involves in its very aim, and most essential nature, a prostitution of Christianity, and so-called Christian fellowship, to whatever uses the throne may be supposed to require. This was more than James could expect from the Puritans: it was more than the Puritans ought ever to have promised. The clergy felt that, by what price soever it was gained, the throne must be on their side, or they were lost: a national episcopacy, which did not include the king, was an absurdity that could not stand the trial of experience: but to include the king by virtue of his office, involved his supremacy: because the national episcopacy, if not subject to the king, would seem to be above him, and render him no king at all: he must therefore be supreme, and his ordinances must be obeyed; for where there is no obedience there is no supremacy. The clergy knew that this obedience to the king, in ecclesiastical matters, was indispensable to that direction and management of the king at which they aimed, and their enjoyment of his legal support. They also knew that this obedience was more than the Puritans could yield, it was more than they ought ever to have promised. The Puritans, therefore, were in a false position, which threw all parties wrong. The king and the clergy felt alike that they were struggling with proposals that involved their existence, while the policy of the Puritans in lowering their demands, and making them as little as they could, forced their opponents to conclude, that any relaxation of severity involved the hazarding of their official existence for trifles.

The moral effect which the policy of Dr. Reynolds and

his associates, in the Hampton Court conference, produced in the minds of their opponents, is well explained in the following statement :—

“ But after all this dispute, suppose at the last that it should not be conscience, and in many of their leaders we have great evidence that it is not so. At the conference at Hampton Court, before King James, Dr. Reynolds, Mr. Knewstubs, (and) Mr. Chaderton, did clamour as loud about conscience as any now do or can; but, when the arguments upon which their consciences pretended to be founded, were, to their own conviction, all weighed and answered, there was then desired an indulgence for some few worthy and sober men, because of their credit: and, are we sure that *credit* hath nothing to do in this case? Men are loth to use those ceremonies, lest they should lose the credit of that zeal which hath formerly appeared so much against them.”—*A Defence of the Proposition*, &c. p. 86. S. C. L., printed 1668.

The promise of James, that he would “make them” (the Puritans) “conform themselves, or harry them out of the “land, or else do worse”—was fulfilled in his administration to the utmost limit of his capabilities. Though, when addressing the ministers of Scotland he had said, in 1590—“As “for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil said “mass in English: they want nothing of the mass but the “liftings: I charge you my good people, ministers, doctors, “elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your “*purity*, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, “forsooth, as long as I brook my life or crown, shall maintain the same.” Yet in 1604, having become head of this “neighbour kirk of England,” he threatened, as above, to “harry out of the land,” or otherwise to subdue, the men who adhered to his former exhortations. He did not regard himself hypocritical in the first, nor perfidious in the second case; he only acted on his own abstract assumption that, being a king, religion, and all that related to social existence, were made for himself: in 1590 his interest required the course which he prescribed, and therefore he prescribed it;

in 1604, his interest dictated in his view, the course which he adopted, and therefore he adopted it. In each case he acted consistently with himself. The glory of God, for which the church exists, had no place in his esteem; and the authority of Jesus, the Christ, commanded no reverence in his conscience: whether in Scotland or in England, James acted as a king, not as a Christian, and his weakness consisted in his inability to conceal his principles and his design. The church he wanted was, the one which he could manage with the greatest ease, and render most useful to his government. Whether Presbyterian or Episcopalian, it must be *King James's church*. Yielding this requirement, in and before the conference, the clergy won him; and, knowing that the Puritans limited their concessions on this point, James, when he thought himself above, rejected and despised them. Without rescuing the church of Christ and his worship from worldly prostitution and state control, their case had in it no just claim to legislative attention. Until it touched what he claimed as his prerogative, it bore the character of unjustifiable complaint, and disturbed the public peace with contumacy, but his prerogative in matters ecclesiastical he was not prepared to resign. He was too weak to conceal his intention to exercise that prerogative with his utmost power, and to its extreme limit. Hence he pursued the objectors with unrelenting severity till his death. The Star Chamber, the High Commission, and examinations on the oath *ex officio*, were continued as before he ascended the throne; prosecutions were multiplied, prisons were thronged, English refugees were driven to every safe retreat that could be found on earth. The Church of Scotland, which in 1590 he had called the "*sincerest kirk of the world*," he persecuted as one taking vengeance on an adversary. "In the second year after his accession to the throne in England, *three hundred ministers* were either silenced, or deprived, or excommunicated, or imprisoned, or forced into exile."¹ He could, and did, in 1618, authorize the "*Book of Sports*," that while it stood

¹ Calderwood, *Altare Damascenum*, 1608, pref. p. 4.

beside the Book of Prayer, the sabbath might be broken by law; but that form of doctrine which asked his obedience to God he would not tolerate. "The Puritans," he said, "are the fathers of the Brownists [Separatists]; the latter only fully putting in practice what the former do teach, but dare not perform." Thus the most distant shadow of a religious authority other than his own, was hateful and appalling. He even dreaded the tendency of his own adopted episcopacy; for the elevation of Laud, who was ready to carry out its principles, was admitted by him as a "*woe*." His weakness unclothed the principles of state-church policy, and his experience exhibits its effects; for labouring thereby to consolidate his kingdom, he left it, at his death, divided into four great factions, which, by rugged but natural advances, forced his successor to the scaffold.

Much has been recorded that covers the reputation of Laud with righteous infamy. No excuse can justify his search for matters to criminate individuals, or the vindictive temper of his prosecutions; still, his chief peculiarity appears in that hardihood and recklessness with which he came prepared to carry out, in practice, the principles of the hierarchy committed to his care. The High Commission, the Star Chamber, the oath *ex officio*, the prison, and the direction of the sword, formed an apparatus of ecclesiastical government which, as he conceived, was not entrusted to his use in vain. Common sense would say, if these things ought to exist, they ought to be employed for the end to which they were appointed. They were appointed to enforce religious conformity, and he enforced religious conformity by their means. They constituted the vital elements of state church polity, and he, justly, deemed it absurd to leave these vital elements, and conduct the hierarchy by feeble and inconsistent submissions to modified accidents. Without referring to Episcopalians, of whom Hooker, by a splendid subterfuge, had identified the ecclesiastical laws of this nation with the law of God, if only the affirmations made by Puritan writers be taken for truth, the king held his sword and office, chiefly, to

guard the interests of religion, and enforce the Redeemer's requirements upon men. This being admitted, Laud could have no difficulty in concluding that, as an ecclesiastical servant of the king, he was bound to carry out the law as it then stood; and that the king, a supposed servant of Christ to the church, was bound to sustain him, and execute with all his might whatever the church could prove to be the requirement of her Lord, the Christ. The Puritans admitted this as well as Laud, and stated their admissions with more unguarded flattery of the king than Laud would employ. Some excuse, therefore, is due to the archbishop from the position he occupied, and the state of parties with whom he had to deal. On him devolved the infelicity of working out a system which was put into his hands by men who had not studied its principles, nor calculated the result of their operation. The encumbrance and darkness which a hierarchy entails upon the throne, he practically explained to a prince who was boyishly exclaiming, "*No bishop, no king.*" During the administration of Laud, the commons and great part of the nobility learned to depend more upon themselves, and their appeal to justice, and to expect less from state policy dressed in a religious garb. Laud, with bitter and burning proofs, demonstrated to the Puritans the untenable nature of those positions which they defended, with so much acrimony, against the Separatists. Backed by Charles's queen, who delicately addressed her uxorious husband, saying, "Be off, coward, and pull those rogues [Puritans] out by the ears, or never see my face any more," this primate made his suffering brethren understand what royal supremacy in ecclesiastical matters meant, and the utter futility of seeking redress by crouching before a king to whom they had themselves transferred the prerogative of their Redeemer. By his example, as well as by his administration, Laud explained that, in hierarchical proceedings, submission to a king must precede the directing of a king; the service of a sycophant being, in the course of nature, preliminary to the luxury of a pope. All parties were indebted to this recklessly practical

man, for he helped them to understand themselves, their principles, and the fallacies for which they pleaded.

One of the principal works to which John Canne appeals for facts to justify his proposed separation from these criminal absurdities, is entitled, "*An Appeal to the Parliament, or Syon's Plea against Prelacy.*" It was written by Dr. Laiton (Leighton), a Scotch divine, in 1628. By its publication the author fell into the hands of Laud, and was prosecuted in the Star Chamber. His case explains, *first*, how justly and with what cogency Canne might appeal to him, and his associates in suffering, in 1634, when urging the necessity for separation; and, *secondly*, the case of Dr. Laiton shows what every man may justly expect when the chief service of a hierarchy is committed into the hands of one who is ambitious to do that service *well*. Faithful as a vulture, Laud never lost sight of his victim until the hardy Puritan, in the Star Chamber, was fined £10,000, and doomed to have his nose slit, his ears cut off, his cheeks branded, to be placed in the pillory, whipped at a post, and imprisoned for life. Laud was present to hear the sentence; and when it was pronounced, removing his hat and raising his hands, gave thanks to God, who had given him the victory over his enemies. Devout and grateful man! he did not think how soon, by a retribution to be noted, the head which he uncovered in this ejaculation, would be forfeited in his devotion to the hierarchy. His fidelity provided for him other thoughts. He had gained the sentence, and had now to see it fully executed. He, therefore, secured his degradation November 4th, 1630, and from his own diary the following note is copied. "November 4, Leighton was degraded in the High Commission. " November 9, he broke out of the Fleet; the warder says " he got or was helped over the wall, and professes he knew " not this from Tuesday till Wednesday noon. He told it " not me till Thursday night. Leighton was taken again in " Bedfordshire, and within a fortnight brought back to the " Fleet. November 26. Part of the sentence was executed " upon him at Westminster"—*Brooks's Lives*, vol. ii. p. 482.

These items all show a mind earnestly engaged in the performance of his task, and "the sentence, so grateful to the remembrance of Laud, was inflicted in the following most shocking and barbarous manner: he was carried to Westminster, where he had one of his ears cut off, then one side of his nose slit; he was branded on the cheek, with a red hot iron, with the letters S. S., for a *sower of sedition*; he was put in the pillory, and kept there nearly two hours in frost and snow; he was then tied to a post, whipped with a triple cord to that cruel degree that every lash brought away the flesh; and he himself affirmed, ten years after, that he should feel it to his dying day." This must have been the "*part of the sentence*" which Laud writes "*was executed upon him at Westminster, Nov. 26.*" "After this shocking barbarity he was not permitted to return to his quarters, in the Fleet, in a coach prepared for the purpose, but was compelled, in that lamentable condition and severe season, to go by water. On that day sevensnight, his nose, ear, face, and back not being yet cured, he was taken to the pillory in Cheapside, when the other ear was cut off, the other side of his nose slit, and the other cheek branded; he was then set in the pillory and whipped a second time. He was then carried back to the Fleet, where he was kept ten weeks in dirt and mire, not being sheltered from the rain and snow. He was shut up in close prison, and not suffered to breathe in the open air for ten or eleven years, until the meeting of the Long Parliament, and when he came forth from his long and miserable confinement he could neither *walk, see, nor hear.*"—*Brooks's Lives*, vol. ii. p. 483.

In the light of this example the events which followed in the life and death of Laud are quite intelligible. Human nature is made to loathe as well as to produce monstrosities of this kind. A church discipline of this sort, by whatever theory produced, provokes, inevitably, *reaction*, arming against itself corruptions and tendencies of the like kind in the breasts of others. Laud, therefore, was more devoted to his hierarchy than careful for his own preservation; for, by such active

services, he hastened his own destruction. He may be called blind, &c., but he was no more so than the officer who, with his troop, is ordered to defend a breach in some fortification. He listens to no complaint of cruelty, because he is placed there to be as *cruel* as he *can*. To kill or conquer the enemy is his very calling, and he runs all risk to make the defence secure. Such was the case with Laud. He was exalted on purpose to defend the Church by these means, deemed by kings and governments the legitimate means of defence. He fought hard and long, and used whatever might tend to intimidate those whom he wished to subdue. His course, therefore, may be understood, though not justified, for he rebuked Leighton before all that others also might fear; but how Leighton himself, with his brethren and his companions in suffering, could still adhere to that hierarchical system which in their own persons yielded such bitterly pernicious fruit, and treat as their enemies those who explained the ground and showed the way to separation, it is, in the highest degree, difficult to explain.

It is not improbable that Laiton's Appeal to the Parliament, by which he incurred the severities just recited, was induced by the treatment which a popular measure of the Puritans was receiving in 1628, at the hands of the hierarchical dignitaries. From the activity of Burton and others, an impression was received that, by appealing to the benevolence of individuals, the impropriations of church livings might be purchased and put in trust for the use of such ministers as they might approve. A company of Feoffees, or Purchasers of Impropriations, was therefore projected about the year 1626. The object was to occupy with stipendiary ministers, or lecturers, the large towns, especially such as sent ministers to parliament. It was soon observed that the lay impropriations did not so much decrease as the ministers or lecturers on the Nonconformists' side were multiplied. Large sums of money were used in this work; and the more observant of the clergy perceived that, in the working out of the project, the livings in the hands of this Company would soon form a mass

of endowments to be used by ministers whom they approved, that is to say, for the use of a separate community. At Oxford, July 11, 1630, it was asked respecting "this faction," "will they not in time have more preferments to bestow; and, therefore, more dependencies than all the prelates in the kingdom?" The alarm spread, and Laud acting upon it, the feoffees soon found themselves in the Court of Exchequer; and in 1632 the whole project was crushed. Whether this plan had so advanced as to influence Laiton in writing in 1628, is not clearly determined; the denunciation of 1630 could scarcely have been the first resistance; and, whatever effect it might or might not have had upon the mind of this one author, the project itself showed the inclination of the Puritans to employ any means that the law would allow in gaining the reformation they desired, and also the fixed determination of the prelatical party to oppose their progress in every possible way. They would neither be persuaded nor bought; the warfare, conducted by the prelates against Nonconformists, was one of extermination; it was essential to their safety and peace that nonconformity should cease to be; this was not only avowed but justified; and their reasons for the same are explained by Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity, Introduction*, p. 63. Addressing himself to the whole body of the Puritans he saith: "Hath not your longing desire for the practice of your discipline, brought the matter already to this demurrer amongst you, whether the people and their godly pastors, that way affected, ought not to make separation from the rest, and to begin the exercise of discipline without the licence of civil powers, which licence they have sought for and are not heard?" This was the fact; and to strengthen this demurrer, or rather to place the question in such a light that it may admit of no demurrer whatever, is the object for which John Canne wrote and published his work, entitled, "A Necessity of Separation." This is now before the reader, and those writings of our author which bear more directly on the cultivation and welfare of the Separated Church, are reserved for another volume.

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The Editor hereby expresses the obligation under which he and the Society he has served are laid, to the trustees and attendants of the libraries he has used : especially to Mr. Cogan, the Librarian at Dr. Williams's, in Red Cross Street, London ; his unwearied attention to the Editor during the prosecution of this inquiry cannot be too highly appreciated.

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A

NECESSITIE OF SEPARATION

*From the Church of England , proved by the
Nonconformists Principles.*

*Specially opposed unto Dr. AMES, his Fresh Suit
against humane ceremonies, in the point of Separation only.*

Also

Dr. LAITON, Mr. DAYREL, and Mr.

*BRADSHAW, are here answered, where-
in they have written against us.*

*With a Table in the later end, of the principal occurrents
in this Treatise.*

By IOHN CANNE,

Pastor of the ancient English church, in Amsterdam.

Prov. 31. 8, 9.

*Open thy mouth for the dumbe, in the cause of all such as are
appointed to destruction. — And plead the cause of the
poore and needie.*

Ioh. 13, 17.

If ye know these things, happie are ye if ye doe them.



Printed in the yeare 1634.

[ADDRESS TO THE READER.]

** To every one that seeketh after the truth in sincerity, • [1]
Salutations.*

THERE are extant already so many books in the defence of our cause,¹ (which never yet received any answer) that it hath been in my thoughts a long time, not to enter publicly the lists of contention about it with any man; but to employ that small portion which I have in the knowledge of holy things, more peaceably otherwise; notwithstanding, perceiving of late the general fame which was given forth of Dr. Ames's book, and namely^b in his

¹ Our Apology.
Mr. Bar. Refutation of Mr. Gifford. A^a Treatise of the Minist. of the Church of England. Mr. Robinson's Justification of Separ. Mr. Penry of the Ministry of England. An Answer to Mr. Stone.

• [A Treatise of the Ministry of the Church of England, wherein is handled this question, Whether it be to be separated from or joined unto? which is discussed in two letters, one written for, and the other against it, U. L. C.

An Exhortation unto the Governors and People of her Majesty's country of Wales, to labour earnestly to have the preaching of the gospel planted amongst them, by John

Penry, p. 166, without date, D. W. L.

A Defence of that which hath been written in the questions of the ignorant ministry, and the communicating with them, by John Penry, D. W. L. p. 63, without date.

A Justification of Separation from the Church of England. by John Robinson, D. W. L. copy, 1610.]

^b [In the Preface to A Fresh Suit, &c.

answer to the point between the Nonconformists and us, as that it was so learnedly and absolutely done, that it gave all men satisfaction, (the Separatists only excepted,) and that no man would ever be able to make any sound reply therein unto it:—I thought it requisite to take a thorough view thereof; which, when I had so done, and saw the slightness of it, (to say no worse,¹) I conceived with myself, that this common bruit must need arise, either from some ignorant people, who cannot judge of things which differ, or from such as have men's persons in admiration, and so like the shadow will follow them wherever they go, be it right or wrong.

It is known to those, which know the controversies between the formal Protestants in England, and the Reformists, that the principles of the latter by the former are *said to be the direct and plain grounds of separation; sundry arguments and reasons they allege for it, as the reader may see in their several treatises.^{2c} This thing by the other [party] is not only denied, but withal they proclaim themselves the main refuters of the Separatists, and do affirm, that they ²never saw any prelate to confute their opinions, any otherwise than by railing words; but how well they have confuted us, it will appear in the following dispute, unto which I refer the reader: only I think [it]

* [The reference to Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity will be found in Hanbury's ed. vol. i. p. 68, most of the other works will be identified in the alphabetical list of authors which follows the Historical Introduction to this work. As one chief complaint brought against our author is, that his

references are many, but tell for nothing, those which are given in Appendix A. will enable the reader to judge, how far John Canne may be trusted in such a case, or how much of evidence is likely to be obtained by following up the inquiry as he has directed.—ED.]

¹ I mean only in the point of Separation, for in other things he hath answered D. Burg. fully, and laid him flat on the ground.

* [ii]
² Hooker Eccles. Pol. Pref. p. 34. Whitg. 2. Treat. c. i. div. 2. p. 81. Sutelif. Treat. of Disc. c. xv. p. 165. D. Bills. Perpetual Governm. ch. xv. p. 339. Bancr. Surv. of Disc. c. xxxiii. p. 430, 431, 432. Loe Querimon. Ecclesiæ. p. 59, 60. Answ. to the Petition by the Vice Chanc. & Heads of Oxf. p. 15. D. Morton, D. Burg. ² Repl. to D. Mort. Sect. xiv. p. 31. Defence of Petition to the K. p. 103.

good in brief to give him here a sight of most of their weapons, which they draw out usually against us, and whereby they endeavour to conquer and quell us quite.

[*First.*] Vile calumniation and bitter scoffs, proclaiming us to the world to be Schismatics, Brownists, Donatists, &c., and matching us many times with the most notorious heretics,¹ and blasphemers,² that they can think upon, of [on] purpose to make our persons and profession odious to all men.

[*Secondly.*] Raising up many manifest lies and untruths,³ and gathering together the failings of some particular persons which had walked with us, and casting the same as dung in our faces.

[*Thirdly.*] Brags and boasts of victory; a notable instance for this we have in a certain preface, made to Mr. Hildersham's book on John iv., the author of it tells his reader there, that Mr. Hildersham had the best in the controversy, between him and Mr. Johnson, notwithstanding it is well known, he never made any reply to that which the other had published against him, although he was by divers earnestly desired to do it; and this I write *from the report of honest and faithful witnesses, * [iii] who are yet alive, and will not (I am persuaded,) willingly relate any thing but the truth.

[*Fourthly.*] Gross contradictions, in seeking to justify against us, the very things, which by sound arguments and reasons in their writings against the hierarchy, they

¹ Dayr.
Treat. of the
Ch. p. 41.
² Mr. Nichols' Plea
of the Innocent, p.
33, 34.^d

³ The
Scurrilous
Libels, published under
the names of
Lawne,
Fowler,
Bullard, &c.

prove to be evil and unlawful; and this we have manifested in the answ[er] to Mr. Bradsh[aw's] book.

[*Fifthly.*] And in a word, falsifications of our positions, continual begging of questions, large proofs for what was never doubted of, but no proving of the main point in question, either by scriptures, reasons, or any ancient and sound writers.

These, and such like arguments, have they used hitherto against us. And it is no marvel that they are such; for what better should we expect from them, who seek to put out that light again which hath been by themselves chiefly revealed unto many. I know what I say, and have good experience of this thing; for there is not ten of a hundred which separate from the church of England, but are moved first thereto, (I speak of outward means,) by the doctrine of the Nonconformists, either in word or writing taught to the people. And indeed, upon their grounds, how can any one do less than separate if his heart be tender against every sin, seeing they confidently affirm that their ministry, worship, and discipline, is from antichrist; and in their church are swarms¹ of atheists, papists, erroneous and heretical sectaries, witches, charmers, murderers, thieves, adulterers, liars, &c. Moreover, all popery (say they) is poison, the root, stalk, and branches; and we cannot be said sincerely to have repented of the idolatry or superstition^e whereby we or our

¹ Serm. on Rom. xii. p. 65, 66.

Sold. Bar.

Abridgm. p. 23.

* "An Abridgm[ent] of that book, the Ministers of Lincoln Diocese, delivered to his Majesty in December last, &c. printed 1605,] p. 23, [preserved in D. W. L.]

forefathers have provoked the Lord, unless we be ashamed
 * of, and cast away with detestation, all the instruments
 and monuments of it. Again, whosoever partakes in the
 sins of Rome, are also under the same curse; so that we
 cannot in any sort communicate with them in their errors,
 unless we will bear them company in their destruction
 also. These are their own testimonies, and we know they
 are true; and therefore in obedience to God and care of
 our precious souls, we have left our unsanctified standings
 in their assemblies, and through the Lord's mercy to us,
 do walk in the holy order of his gospel, although daily
 sufferers for it of manifold afflictions. Notwithstanding,
 all these things offend us not; for we know whom we
 serve, and are most certain, if we watch, and do Christ's
 work still in his own way, we shall have a sure reward for
 it at the resurrection of the just.

* [iv]

Cartw
Catechis.
p. 315, 316.

Rev. xvi. 15.

And to speak now a word or two unto such as are commonly styled professors of the gospel, whether unconvertible or not. The thing truly which I most wish unto them is, tender consciences, and that the Lord's house and his ordinances may be dear to their souls, and that they may be able to deny the profits and pleasures of this life; for if these things be in them and abound, my hope is, that by their judicious reading over of this treatise there will follow much reformation. When some men take a little physie, they have their health by it soon restored; but if the same and a great deal more be ministered to others of another constitution, there follows not the like effect. It is even so in the cause of the soul; such as unfeignedly

desire to know the truth, and have a conscionable resolution to walk in it, do receive much profit by the fruitful counsel which is given *them, either by word or writing. But on the contrary: those which seek the truth with no better affection than Pilate did, neither purpose to obey the same more than did the dissembling hypocrites in Jeremiah; certainly, good advice given to them is but as pearls cast before swine and dogs. Therefore, my desire is, that the former sort may be viewers only of these lines; and to them I say, in the words of the apostle, "Consider what I say, and the Lord give thee understanding in all things."

* [v]
Joh. xvii.
Chap. xlii.
& xliii.

The following principles (touching a true church, ministry, worship, and government, as also how quite contrary hereto the English is,) are not taken out of our writings, but from the Nonconformists; yea, even from the chiefest of them, which for learning, zeal, judgment, holiness of life, &c., have ever held that cause. Moreover, they are not barely affirmed, but sufficiently confirmed; and therefore it standeth every one upon to take them the more to heart; for else not one, but many of themselves, even prophets of their own, will condemn them.

¹ He speaks
thus by false
ministers.

I know the devil useth many means to keep people in cursed ignorance; and among others, one specially is, by dissuading them from hearing such persons and reading such books which might show unto them their evil and sin; and this he doth under a pretence of doing good unto them. Oh! (saith he¹) you must beware of false prophets, and not hearken to that counsel which causeth to err; avoid

the company of all deceivers, and not once look into their books, &c. Now, by such syren songs the crafty serpent keeps them fast asleep, till he have brought the poor soul into the pit of endless perdition.

* We would think that man to be senseless, who (taking * [vi] his enemies' counsel) would shut all his doors and windows, in hope to get the more light into his house thereby. The devil daily makes many thousand worse fools in the world, in causing them to shut close their eyes against the saving light of the gospel, in expectation that their souls by this means shall be filled with the more wisdom and spiritual understanding. It is not my meaning that any one should believe things suddenly and rashly, but I would have him, as Solomon's counsel is, to look well to his going; and as Prov. xiv. 15. we take gold by weight, corn, cloth, &c., by measure, so to receive the doctrines of every man by due examination. And this is only the thing which I do request of thee, (good reader,) whosoever thou art, be thou but pleased to put the principles and inferences here written, upon their proof, and to hold that only fast, which (after good trial by the scriptures) thou findest to be good, and it is sufficient, and I have my desire of thee to the full.

One thing more I desire others to take notice of, namely, that I judge not myself bound so much to justify their principles, as our inferences from them. If, therefore, any shall deny them to be true, my purpose is to give place to such whom it more nearly concerneth to write in the defence thereof.¹ But if any shall oppose us in the conclusions, I would have them (leaving all by-

¹ Yet we believe their principles to be true, & if there be no None. that will defend them, we will.

Magis veri-
tas elucet,
quò sapius
ad manum
venit. Senec.
lib. de Ira.

matters) to follow the truth in love, without gall and bitterness, that so things may come to a happy and speedy issue. It is well said of a heathen man, "The oftener truth cometh to hand, the more the light thereof appeareth." I hope this will be verified in the point now in controversy; for howsoever I doubt not but we have said here enough to justify the matter undertaken; notwithstanding much more I could have alleged from their writings concerning these things, but for the present I content myself herewith, till there be a further just and necessary occasion given thereof.

J. CANNE.

A MANUDUCTION

TO THE FOLLOWING

TREATISE.

HOWBEIT not any religion should be judged the less true because few embrace it, neither the sooner to be followed for the general good liking and approbation which it hath among men; notwithstanding having now so just and necessary an occasion to urge men to practise what they profess, I shall endeavour (by the grace of God) clearly to prove, that this our way is of the apostolic primitive institution, even from their tenets which walk contrary to it. Among other crimes charged upon Nonconformists (as they are called) by the prelates and their favourites, one chiefly is, that their principles laid down against the churches of England do lead unto separation, and therefore, if

they were true to their own grounds, they should not communicate in the church assemblies of England. Many of the bishops' parasites heretofore have thus accused them, and of late one Doct[or] Burgess most confidently maintains the same against them; the which by Doct[or] Ames is utterly denied.* Now which of these two doctors in this thing have the truth, I hope it shall evidently be declared in this treatise following.

* ["That" [the charge] "of separation, p. 5, is supported upon so slender a ground, that he bewrays only his desire to have surpassed his power: therefore rhetoricates instead of reasoning."—*A Fresh Suit against*

Human Ceremonies in God's Worship: or, An Implication about Ceremonies, opposed unto Dr. Burgess's Rejoinder for Dr. Morton's Defence of Three Nocent Ceremonies. Printed in 1633. D. W. L. Preface.]

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NECESSITY OF SEPARATION,

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[A]

[NECESSITY OF SEPARATION, &c.]

CHAPTER I.*

* [2]

[A NECESSITY FOR SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
PROVED BY THE ACKNOWLEDGED AND FATAL CORRUPTION OF
ITS MINISTRY.]

[INTRODUCTION.]

DOCTOR BURGESS, having read and seriously (as it seems) examined the nature and true consequence of the many particular arguments published to the world by the Nonconformists, against the great abuses in the ministry, worship, and church government of England, affirmed in his "Rejoinder^a to [a Reply to] D[octo]r Morton," [by Dr. Page 5. Ames,] that the same are the main grounds of separation, and for his part, if he believed them to be true, he would (in all good conscience he protesteth) "proclaim separation from idolatrous worship and worshippers before he slept, and not halt, as these men (by their own positions do),

^a ["That many upon this ground-work build the doctrine and practice of *separation* from the Church, is nothing so strange to me, as that all of that mind do not so; for if these be idolatrous will-worships, how can, how dare they join with us in those acts and exercises of religion in which they are used? Will it be enough not to like them?" *Doctor Burgess's Rejoinder to a Reply to Doctor Morton*, p. 5, D. W. L. copy.]

Page 232.

betwixt idolatry and religion.”^b Doctor Ames, in his new book, intituled “A Fresh Suit against Ceremonies,” denieth that any such thing can be necessarily concluded from their principles; but I will here show by evident and sound reasons, that the former assertion is true and certain, and [that] all the arguments brought by the other to the contrary, are of no weight or force to *make good his denial thereof. And because I much desire that the reader may well understand our points in dispute, I shall, therefore, (if God will) write in order of them. And first I will begin with their ministry, and touching it will lay down [four] things.

* [3]

[*First.*] How the Nonconformists do describe a true ministry.

[*Secondly.*] How far that [the ministry] of England, by their own confession, differs from and is contrary to it.

[*Thirdly.*] I will show what inferences and conclusions do necessarily follow upon it. [And]

[*Fourthly.*] Answer the reasons brought by Doct[or] Ames in defence of their ministry.

[SECTION I.]

[STATEMENTS AND CONCESSIONS OF NONCONFORMIST WRITERS
RESPECTING A TRUE MINISTRY OF CHRIST.]

Not to speak of apostles, prophets, and evangelists, which were extraordinary ministries,^c and therefore (as themselves say) are now wholly ceased, the ordinary offices perpetually belonging to all true churches are only these

Necessit.
Discip. p. 38,
73, 74.

^b [Ibid. in D. W. L. copy, p. 235.]

^c [“Of ecclesiastical offices, therefore, some are ordinary and perpetual in the church, and some are *extraordinary*, which were used for a time, but ceased afterwards to be used any more: for in the first age of the

church, by the great goodness of God towards his people, that was but then young and tender, many divers heavenly gifts were given . . . which after were no longer given.” *Necessit[y of] Discip[line]*. 4to. 1574. D. W. L. copy, p. 73.]

five: [pastors or bishops, doctors or teachers, governors or elders, deacons, and widows or deaconesses].

[FIRST.] *A pastor or bishop*, which is "the highest ordinary ecclesiastical officer in any tru[ly] constituted visible church of Christ;"^d and they are all equal by God's institution, and are forbidden to exercise authority one over another, or [to] expect any such title as may import it, or [to] affect pre-eminence.^e

Offer. Confer. page 2, T. C. b. i. p. 22, and b. ii. pa. 3 and p. 515.

Demonst. Discip. 46.

His gifts, properties, and conditions in doctrine and manners, are distinctly set down in scripture. He must be apt to teach and exhort, no young scholar, able to divide the word aright; have a continual care to watch over the souls of those for whom he must give an account, *discern*^f their diseases, and apply the word according to every disease, and every time and occurrent [necessity]. Briefly, he must love, cherish, and defend his sheep from ravenous beasts, feed them in green and wholesome pastures of the word, pray for them, and seal up to them the promises of God by the sacraments.^g

Mr. Bates, 27.

Informat. from Scot. p. 28, 29.

SECONDLY. The Lord hath ordained that there should be in every congregation, *doctors*, [or teachers]; which is an office (they [the Nonconformists] say) different from that of the *pastor*^g. The reasons which they give are these:—

Necessity Discip. 71, Defen. ag. Slaund. of Bridg. 127. Form Ecclesias. Govern. p. 123, 124, 125, &c. Demonst. Discip. 53, 54.

^d ["A Christian and Modest] Offer [of a] Confer[ence, &c." By Henry Jacob. Printed 1606, in D. W. L. copy, p. 2.]

^e "The Lord hath ordained that there should be one bishop or pastor (at the least) president over every congregation, who are of equal authority in their several charges, and in the general government of the church. T. C. book i. p. 22; and book ii. part i. p. 515." *Demonst[ration of] Discip[line]*, p. 46. [D. W. L. copy, p. 45.]

^f Informat[ions, or a Protestation and Treatise] from Scot[land], 12mo. 1608. D. W. L. copy, pp. 28, 29.

^g ["Thus the doctors and prophets of Antioch ordained Paul and Barnabas in the xiii.th of Acts." *Necessity [of] Discip[line]*, printed 1574. D. W. L.] p. 71.

["Every congregation ought to have elders to see into the manners of the people, and be assistant unto the ministers in the government ecclesiastical." T. C. b. i. p. 174. *De-*

[*First.*] Because the apostle doth so distinguish them one from another, Rom. xii. 7, 8; Ephes. iv. 11.

[*Secondly.*] Their gifts appear to be diverse, I Cor. xii. 7, 8.

[*Thirdly.*] The *pastor* is commanded to take one course in teaching, the *doctor* another, Rom. xii. 7, 8.

[*And, Fourthly.*] This distinguishing of them makes more for the building of the church, than to unite and make them one.

His [the doctor or teacher's] office is to deliver sound and wholesome doctrine, convince the gainsayers, preserve knowledge, and build upon the rock (which is Christ Jesus) gold, silver, and precious stones, &c.

Informa. from
Scot. p. 30.

Form Eccles. Govern.
128, 129, &c.
Rom. xii. 8.
I Cor. xii. 28.
I Tim. v. 17.
Mr. Bates,
89, &c.

The THIRD officers, as they name them from the scriptures, are governors or ruling elders, who are to look to the manners of the people, and to be assistant to ministers in government. This office was established by the apostles in all churches, Acts xiv. 23; and it serves to help forward the building thereof, I Cor. xii. 28; and without it the body [of any church] cannot be entire, Rom. xii. 4, 8. To justify this office, many scriptures, reasons, and testimonies taken from the learned, are alleged by them:^b Ignat. ad Trall., Tertull. de Baptist., Jerom. cont. Lucif., *Ambr. upon I Tim. v., Socrat. lib. v. cap. 22, Bucer de Reg. Chri. l. i., Pet. Mar. upon Rom. xii., Cal. Instit. l. iv. c. 3, sect. 8.

* [5]

monst[r]ation of] Discip[line], [D. W. L. copy, pp. 52—56.]

["God hath set in the church doctors, and given them their peculiar work and gift, the word or utterance of knowledge, distinguished from the pastor's work and gift, the word or utterance of wisdom in exhortation." Ib. p. 472, D. W. L. copy.]

["Defen[ce of the Godly Ministers] ag[ainst the] Slanders of [Doctor]

Bridges, [&c., p. 127. D. W. L.]

["Form [of] Ecclesias[tical] Govern[ment], pp. 123, 124, 125.]

^b [These authorities adduced by the Puritans in support of their views are found in the Demonstration of Discipline, at p. 3, D. W. L. copy, as given in Appendix B. The scriptures are quoted from the Geneva Translation, 1557.]

These [ruling elders] must need be men of wisdom, knowledge, and sound judgment; sober, gentle, modest, Inform. from Sect. p. 13. loving, temperate, &c., able to discern, and always vigilant for the quietness, welfare, peace, purity, and good order of the church.

FOURTHLY. There ought to be in every congregation [church] certain *deacons*, endued with those qualities which the word of God describeth:ⁱ that is, they must be men of good report, endued also with the Holy Ghost, grave, temperate, not covetous, &c. Demons. Disc. p. 56. Eccles. Gover. p. 109.

To prove this office these scriptures are alleged, Acts vi., I Tim. iii. 8; Rom. xii. 6—8; I Cor. xii. 28; Phil. i. 1; and also these reasons for it:—

[*First.*] The Lord takes care both for the bodies and the souls of men, and therefore instituteth such offices peculiarly serving for that purpose.

[*Secondly.*] That the faithful may be the more free from fear, and follow their own callings diligently.

[*Thirdly.*] That the church may be more enriched with heavenly and spiritual blessings, for she receiveth grace and gifts for the discharge of such calling.

[*Fourthly.*] That men may be stirred up to help the poor the more willingly, considering that the Lord hath appointed a special office for that purpose

[*Fifthly.*] That there should be no complaints, but that all the poor might be comforted against their poverty and wants. Their office only consisteth in receiving the liberality of the saints, and distributing the same unto the necessity of the poor:^j and howsoever the English Book of ordering Priests, * &c., makes this a degree of the *ministry*, * [6] Mr. Bates, p. 117.

ⁱ [Demons[tration of] Disc[ipline], p. 56. D. W. L. [A Brief and Plain Declaration, &c., or A Learned Discourse of] Eccle[siastical] Gover[n-]

ment. D. W. L. copy, printed 1584], p. 109.]

^j [Demonstration of Discipline, p. 56, including "T. C. book i. p. 190. Disci. Eccle. fol. 119."]

Answ. to
Bancr. Ser.
p. 14, T. C.
l. i. 190.
II Admo. p.
61, T. C. l. i.
p. 190. Disc.
Eccles. 119.

yet the Nonconformists profess that that practice is nought and unlawful, and the deacon's office is (not to meddle with the word and sacraments, but) only to collect the benevolence of the faithful, and faithfully to distribute the same, and to prove this they render these reasons.

[*First.*] By the apostles' institution these were only to attend upon the provision for the poor, Acts vi. 4.^k

Inform. Scot.
31.

[*Secondly.*] The scripture maketh it an ordinary and distinct office from others in the church, and not to be mingled with any other, Rom. xii. 8.

Demonst.
Discip. 61,
62.

[*Thirdly.*] No man can in any tolerable measure discharge the office of a minister and a deacon also, Acts vi. 2.

[*Fourthly.*] The ministers of the word be perfect without it. They have also, to prove this thing, the learned generally on their side.¹ Concill. Constant. cap. xvi., Chrysost. upon Acts vi., Bulling. decad. v. ser. 2, Buc. de Reg. Christ. xiv., Pet. Mar. Rom. xii., Cal. Inst. l. iv. cap. 3. sec. 9, Beza. Confess. cap. v. sect. 23.

D. Chat.
Rom. xii. p.
64.

[*FIFTHLY.*] Widows or deaconesses, whose proper office is to look to the weak, impotent, and poor strangers, and especially to help such who [as] in their sickness have neither friends nor kinsfolk to administer unto them. This office is proved of them [the Puritans] by these scriptures: I Tim. v., Rom. xii. 8; Rom. xvi. The grounds, or reasons which they bring for it are these.

Mr. Bates,
p. 66.

[*First.*] Wisdom, [It is wise] to employ such as being to receive maintenance from the church, are fit for nothing but this, and fittest for this.

^k ["Therefore the apostles, in the primitive church, thought it to be expedient, for the better providing for the poor, that certain men should be appointed, of approved godliness and diligence, who should take the special charge of the distribution unto the poor, Acts vi."] *A Learned Discourse*

of] *Eccles[iastical] Govern[ment]*, D. W. L. copy, p. 103.] *II Adm[onition to Parliament]*, by Thomas Cartwright. D. W. L. copy, printed 1617, but written 1572 or 3.]

¹ [The references which follow, taken from the *Demonstration of Discipline*, are given in Appendix C.]

[*Secondly.*] That none may lack any thing for their good and preservation.

[*Thirdly.*] That men may be the rather encouraged to go about the churches' *business, having such to attend * [7] them.

These are the necessary and only^m ordinary functions, and offices, which our Saviour hath ordained in his church. Unto the due administration whereof he hath promised his blessing to the end of the world; and these are perpetual, and to continue for ever; and, besides these, it is unlawful for men (following the devices of their own brain) to institute and ordain any in the churches of God.ⁿ

Now the election and ordination of these officers, must (as they [the Nonconformists] say) necessarily be made by the free choice of the congregation wherein they are to administer.^o The elders going before, the rest are to manifest, either by some outward token, or else by their

Def. of Disc.
p. 59, 68.
Def. Coun.
124.
Eccles. Gov.
p. 7.

I Admon.
p. 3.
Off. of Confer.
p. 2.

^m [A Learned Discourse of] Ecclesiastical] Gov[ernment, p. 7. D. W. L.] Def[ence of the] Coun[terpoison], p. 124. D. W. L.]

ⁿ [Def[ence] of Dis[cipline], pp. 59, 68. "A brief and plain declaration," called "A Learned Discourse of Ecclesiastical Government," was published by the Puritans from the pen of Henry Jacob, in 1584. John Bridges wrote in 1587, in reply to this work, "A Defence of the Government Established in the Church of England," &c. B. M. In 1588, "A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline Ordained of God to be used in His Church, &c., Against a Reply of Master Bridges," &c., was published anonymously. B. M. This last work Canne calls Def[ence] of Dis[cipline.] The words referred to here are at page 58, as follows: "That part in 'the

declaration' which is made the next section" (of Master Bridges), "is the conclusion inferred of former reasons, that only pastors, teachers, elders, and deacons remain and are to be continued to the end, all other offices being ceased, which were of special use, for a certain time, and of extraordinary gifts for the performance of them. Whereupon it is inferred, that it is needless, and unlawful, to institute anew any other ministers, or charges in the church." The words at p. 59 are even more forcible.]

^o [I Admon[ition to the Parliament. D. W. L. copy, p. 2,] and [A Christian and Modest] Off[er] of Confer[ence], p. 2. [This work, published anonymously in 1584, is by Dr. Burgess, in his Rejoinder, attributed to Henry Jacob, pp. 10, 11. D. W. L. copy.]

Necessit.
Discip. 28.

silence, their allowance, if they like of the action, or gain-saying [objection], if they judge it not just and upright. Yea, not only may they gainsay it, but, if there be just cause of dislike, make it altogether void and of none effect, until, at the last, a meet one be chosen, by the authority and voices of the elders, and allowed of by the general consent and approbation of the rest of the church.^p

T. C. b. ii.
p. i. 193.
Eccles. Disc.
40.
First Book
Discip. p.
27, 29.
Mr. Bates,
66.

Demonst.
Discip. 24,
25, &c.

• [8]

T. C. l. i.
p. 59.

Form Chur.
Gov. p. 40.

And this was the church's continual practice in the time of the apostles; and, therefore, an ordinance of God to be followed for ever. Moreover, the thing appertaineth unto all; and it is a cause most effectual to bring the people to obedience, when they shall see him teach or rule, whom they themselves have chosen; yea, this procureth greatest reverence of the people to their officers.^q It is also affirmed that this manner of choosing and making officers continued so long *in the churches of God as there was any light of the knowledge of him, so that indeed it ought to be perpetual and unchangeable,^r and may not at any hand, either by church or magistrate, be altered: "For it is a greater wrong to have any ecclesiastical officers forced upon a

^p ["For how greatly is it to be feared, lest that they [the wrongly appointed officers] open and shut they care not how, and order all things not according to the Son and Heir's commandment, but by their own will and pleasure; how greatly, I say, is it to be feared, lest they cast the Lord's jewels before swine, lest they set up the Lord's mysteries to be abused by every one, lest they receive and entertain strangers, and put out and refuse them of the household." *Necessit[y of] Discip[line]*, p. 28.]

^q ["That election which is most effectual to bring the people to obedience is, of all others, the best: and to abridge it is unlawful; but election

by common consent is most effectual to bring the people to obedience, when they shall see him teach or rule, whom they themselves have chosen; therefore, election by the church is the best, and all other kinds of election unlawful." *Demonst[ration of] Discip[line]*, pp. 24, 25, [in D. W. L. copy, chap. iv. p. 30.]

^r ["It belongeth to the church to make choice of those officers which Christ would have placed in the same. T. C. book ii. part i. p. 193. Ecclesiast. Discip. fol. 40; and Whitgift confesseth it, page 164." *Demonstration of Discipline*, p. 29.] Form [of] Chur[ch] Gov[ernment], p. 40.]

people against their will, than if they should force upon men wives, or upon women husbands, against their will and liking."^s Here, also, general councils and many old and new writers are brought in by the Nonconformists, to speak for them in this thing.^t Concil. Nicene Test., Theo. Conc. Const. Test. Tripart. Hist. l. 9, c. 14, Concil. Carth. Can. I., Con. Toletan. Test. Dist. 50, Concil. Gabil. Can. 10, Cyprian. l. 1, Ep. 3, Amb. Epist. 82, Jerom. ad Ruffin. Basil. Epist. 58.

Eng. Putan.
p. 6, 7.

And whosoever condemns the making of ministers after this sort, what do they else but open their mouths against God and against the truth? *Defence of Admon.* p. 2.

Moreover every officer in the church must be ordained by imposition of hands of the eldership,^u the whole church joining with them in fasting and prayer; and without a lawful calling no one must presume to exercise any spiritual function, or ministry,^v nor dare to enter in any other way than by the door.

T. C. l. ii.
p. i. p. 174.
Eccles. Dis.
35.
D. Am. Cas.
Cons. l. iv.
c. xxv.
Inform. Scot.
26.
John x. 1, 2.

A notable example for this purpose is rehearsed by Moses in Numb. xvi., whereby it seemeth that the Lord meant to ratify the law of a necessity of a true vocation for ever.^w For there we see, that neither the heavens could abide to see, nor the earth bear so shameless bold-

^s [Eng[lish] Pu[ri]tan[ism]. The Puritanismus Anglicanus of Doctor Ames, Francofurt, 1610, B. M., was a Latin translation of this work, by Bradshaw, published in English as early as 1604. A copy, D. W. L. printed in that year, indicates another edition in 1605.]

^t [All these references and authorities will be found in Appendix D.]

^u [T. C. book ii. part i. p. 274. Discip. Eccle. fol. 53; in Demonstration of Discipline, p. 41.]

^v [D. Am. Cas. Cons. l. iv. c. xxv.

The references thus marked by Canne are found in De Conscientia et ejus jure vel casibus. Gulielmi Amesii: Amsterdami, 1654. B. M., from pp. 225—229, or in chap. xxiv. This work of Dr. Ames was first published in 1630.]

[“The ordaining of church officers must be done with humble prayer of the elderships and the congregation. *Discipl. Ecclesiast.* fol. 50,” in Demonstration of Discipline, p. 43.]

^w Infor[mations, &c., from] Scot[land], p. 26.

* [9]

ness, but the one melting consumed *with fire, such as without a calling would take upon them the priesthood, and the earth gaping, opened itself and swallowed them up alive, which ought to be a lesson to us for ever, that no man presume to pervert or alter that order which God hath established in his church,^x nor arrogate to himself that honour which he hath by no right and lawful calling obtained, &c.

Necessit.
Disc. 10, 11,
&c.
T. C. 1. i.
54, 63.

T. C. 1. i. 61.
Necess. Dis.
19.
Demonst.
Dis. p. 16.

Moreover none must be ordained unto any office in the church, until there be such a place void for him as is meet and fit:^y for as the apostles did in planting of churches, so must it be done in the building thereof for ever; but they ordained neither pastor, teacher, elder, nor deacon, but to some certain congregation that had present use and need thereof. A roving and unsettled ministry therefore is a new and false ministry, merely instituted by men, and never read of to be practised but by idolaters. Judg. xvii. 8.

Tabl. Div.
Rea. in
Camb. De-
mo. id.

Eccle. Dis.
fol. 44.
T. C. 1. ii.
p. i. p. 368.
Tit. i. 9.
Hos. iv. 6.

Again, great care must be taken before consent be given unto any calling in the church, that it appear by sufficient trial and due examination, that the person is qualified with those gifts which the word of God requireth in one of that place:^z for else there will follow a manifest

^x ["The papists indeed deny it, and dispute against us and contend that it is lawful for their high priest to rule and order the church of God as he listeth; but we, who do detest and abhor this blasphemous voice, and according to God's word, acknowledge and confess Christ to be the only King of the church, how can we say either that he neglected so great and so necessary a point of his kingly office, or that he hath left it us to order as we please." *Necessit[y of] Disc[i-pline*, edition 1574.

^y ["Every officer of the Church, must be placed in some calling warranted by the word of God, and some congregation must have need of such a one, before he be called to any function." *Demonst[ration of] Disc[ipline*, p. 17, chap. ii. D. W. L. copy.]

^z ["Before consent be given to any man unto any calling in the church, it must appear (by sufficient trial and due examination) that he is qualified with those gifts, that the word of God requireth in one of that

breach of God's commandment; besides, God will not own his ministry; thirdly, if he want abilities, he cannot do the things required of him; as to divide the word aright, espy the enemy, and give warning aforehand to the people how to resist him; but contrariwise will lead himself and his people into hell fire. The truth is, no unskillful or unlearned man may be called to the steering of this *helm, unless we would have the ship not only to be in danger, but willing to run it upon the rocks. These officers chosen^a and made as aforesaid, "ought to execute the office committed unto them with all faithful diligence, and consequently must be continually resident upon their charge.^b" This later position, to wit, the necessity of perpetual residence and the unlawfulness of non-residence, is confirmed of them by good reasons.

[First.] "A minister is a shepherd, and his charge a flock; now a shepherd hath a flock to feed it continually.

[Secondly.] "Wheresoever God placeth a man, there is daily need of his labour and care.

[Thirdly.] "The people are in danger of harm, if they be not watched over day and night.

[Fourthly.] "The church requireth an officer's residence with her as a duty of him.

[Fifthly.] "If they do otherwise, they cannot give their people a good example, neither will there be love and familiarity between them, &c.

Briefly, "they hold it as great an injury to force a congregation or church to maintain as their pastor, with tithes and such like donations, that person which either is not

Demons.
Dis. p. 35,
36.

* [10]
Neces. of
Dis. p. 47. 6.

T. C. l. i.
p. 65.

Dem. Dis.
p. 20, 21.
D. Tayl.
Tit. iii. 11.
Dr. Willet.
1 Sam. xiv.
28.

place. *Eccle*"[siastical] "Dis"[cipline,] "fol. 44. T. C. Book ii. part i. p. 368." *Demons*[tration of] *Dis*[cipline,] pp. 35, 36. [In D. W. L. copy, p. 37.]

^a [Neces[sity] of Disc[ipline,] 1574. U. L. C.]

^b [T. C. book i. p. 65, is quoted from *Dem*[onstrat[i]on of] *Disc*[ipline] pp. 20, 21. [In D. W. L. copy, pp. 26, 29.]

Eng. Puri.
20, 21.

able to instruct them, or that refuseth in his own person ordinarily to do it, as to force a man to maintain one for his wife, that either is not a woman, or that refuseth in her own person to do the duties of a wife unto him.”^c And thus much for the first point, wherein we and they in judgment do accord, but our practice as yet is contrary each to other.^d

Dem. Disc.
p. 21.

* [11]

* SECTION II.

[STATEMENTS AND CONCESSIONS OF NONCONFORMIST WRITERS
RESPECTING CORRUPTIONS AND DEFECTS IN THE MINISTRY
OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.]

Defence.
Godly
Minist. ag.
Bridg. 125.
Pref. Adm.
and pp. 18,
27, 47.

Sion's
Plea, 3.

Now it follows that we truly relate the present state of the English ministry, how far it disagreeeth (by their [the Nonconformists'] own testimonies) in every particular thing from the positions before-named, and touching it in general, they affirm confidently that it is a base ministry which God never erected in his church, but came wholly from the pope, for, say they, not only is the calling of the hierarchy, but also their dependent offices [are] all unlawful and antichristian;^e observe the largeness of their

^c Eng[lish] Puri[tanism,] pp. 20, 21. [D. W. L. copy, printed in 1605.]

^d Dem[onstration of] Disc[ipline,] p. 21. [In D. W. L. copy, p. 28.]

^e ["To put them out of doubt, therefore, and that he may know we dare avouch our meanings; our meaning is, that whilst the trial of ministers is committed, or at least, taken of the bishops to themselves, so as they make them in their galleries and closets, upon what testimony they think good, whilst they are not tried

by the ministry and elders, a taste of their gifts given to the people, God by fasting and prayer [being] sought unto as he hath willed, whilst their hearts are not put to notorious and public examination, they by this means do, evidently, against the very form of the ordination of the ministry prescribed by law, maintain a base and ignorant ministry, and by means of that" . . . "popery, and by popery rebellion." *Defence [of] Godly Ministers* ag[ainst] *Bridg[es]*, p. 125.

speech, how they comprehend and so consequently here condemn all their ecclesiastical functions: for indeed they take all their original of one root, namely, the prelacy; from it, I say, they have their rise, and by it only they administer unto the people. And whosoever shall deny this, may with as much reason deny that fire is hot, the sea salt, the sun shines, &c.^f

But let us hear what reasons they give to prove their ministry false and antichristian, and every way contrary to that true ministry, of which we have before spoken; First, they say that the Church of England wanteth her pastors, teachers, deacons, and elders: for which cause she hangeth down her head for heaviness, her eyes be bleared with tears, her cheeks be defiled with the water of her eyes, her heart is heavy with sorrow, her bones are withered with dryness, her whole body is clothed with sackcloth, she lieth in caves and dens, being ashamed to show her face, having so deformed and maimed a body; if *her case * [12] and state be so she hath reason enough to grieve: for to want these true offices and to have counterfeits placed in their stead, is one of the heaviest and fearfulest miseries

Doct. Chat.
on Rom.
xii. 33.

^f["We verily believe, by the grievances following," [and] "offer to demonstrate that the *hierarchy* and their *household* stuff, is the *capital sin* and main cause why all this evil is come upon us." "This is the *master sin*," *Sion's Plea*, p. 3. [This work which answers to the references of our author, was written by Dr. Laiton, [Leighton] and published "*In the year and month wherein Rochelle was lost*," [1628.] It is entitled, "*An Appcal to the Parliament, or Sion's Plea against Prelacy*." For the kindness therein shown to the bishops, the author had his nose slit, and his ears

cut off; he was branded in the face, whipped at a post, fined £10,000, and imprisoned for life. Archbishop Laud, on hearing the sentence pronounced in the Star Chamber, pulled off his hat, and holding up his hands, GAVE THANKS TO GOD, WHO HAD GIVEN HIM THE VICTORY OVER HIS ENEMIES. Poor Laiton, bearing these proofs of fraternal tenderness in the clergy, afterwards became keeper of Lambeth House, which had been then turned into a prison for his persecutors. He died some time after 1643; see *Introductory Notice*, p. cviii.]

Isa. iii. [4,
12.]

that can possibly befall any people. Yet this thing is affirmed by others of them also, of which more hereafter.

Bright.
Rev. iii. p.
168. Chr.
Mar. p. 41.
Admon.
p. 2. Soldier
Bar. M.
Bates, p. 60.

Now concerning elections and ordinations, in these their church standeth under a Romish regiment, and hath not left Babylon, but partaketh of her sins in the choice of ministers. For neither are their ministers proved, elected, called, or ordained according to God's word; but their entrance into the ministry is "by a Popish and unlawful vocation,^s strange from the scriptures, and never heard of in the primitive church. All authority is given into the hands of the prelates alone, and their book of ordination, whereby they make bishops, priests, and deacons, is against the very form of the ordination of the ministry prescribed in the scriptures, and nothing else but a thing word for word, taken out of the Pope's pontifical, wherein he showeth himself to be Antichrist most lively."^h

Acts xiii.
45; xiv. 23.
Def. of
Godly Mi.
ag. Br. 124.

It will not be amiss if I here briefly relate in what manner and form their bishops make ministers, as the Nonconformists do describe it. When the time (say they) of giving orders draweth near, the [bishop's] bull is set upon the church door, to give warning that if any be minded to receive orders that he repair to the prelate at such a time and place. Now this bull is in Latin, so that the people cannot understand the sound of the trumpet, neither indeed are they desired to come, and object against the persons to be ordained, &c. When ^{*}the day of ordination is come, after an exhortation made, and the communion celebrated, the epistle and gospel read, and the hymn *Veni Creator* sung or said, the archdeacon presents to the [bishop] all those that are to take on the order of priesthood that day, with these words, "Reverend Father in Christ, I present to you the persons here present, to be

* [13]

^s [I Admon[ition, &c., D. W. L.,
copy.] p. 2. [and p. 15.]

^h [Adm[onition, &c., D. W. L.
copy,] p. 14.]

admitted to the order of priesthood." Then after some demands and answers of the [bishop] and the other who are to be admitted, he demandeth of the people, who are present there, if they know any impediment which may hinder any of these present to be admitted to the order of priesthood, which is a manifest mockage; for it may be that none there present either heard or saw any of them, or all of them before that day, &c. Then after the oath of the king's supremacy is taken, there follows an exhortation again, with other demands and answers. After this the people who are present, are desired secretly to commend the business to God: for which cause they are all silent for a little space. This done, the [bishop] readeth a prayer, which being finished, they who are to be ordained sitting on their knees at the bishop's feet, the bishop and the rest of the priests who are present, lay hands severally upon the heads of every one of them, the [bishop] uttering these words: "Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins thou dost forgive they are forgiven, and whose sins thou dost retain they are retained; and be thou a faithful dispenser of the word of God, and of his holy sacraments, in the name of the Father, [the Son, and the Holy Ghost.]" Thus he commandeth the ordained to receive the Holy Ghost, as our Lord and Master did.

*Now as well may they imitate his breathing, as to usurp * [14] these words. Is any of their curates, after the pronouncing of these words, either the holier or more apt to teach? And whereas he puts a Bible into their hands,ⁱ he

ⁱ ["But here I am unable sufficiently to admire with that face, the" [prescribed] "words can be spoken to those they ordain, the greatest portion of whom are known sufficiently to be no more apt to teach, exhort, and convince, than a bullock is to fly." "By what authority is it said *Receive*

ye the Holy Ghost? with equal consistency we might imitate Christ in commanding the troubled sea to be still." "When the bishop places a copy of sacred scripture in the [novitiate's] hand, he saith, *Receive authority to preach the word of God;* but what if he should not have the gift

Alt. Dam.
165.

Necer. Disc.
p. 81.
against
Brid. 125.
Def. Disc.
133.
Id. p. 33.
Admo. 15.
Alt. D. 161.
Necessit.
Discip. p.
20.
Eccles. Gov.
127.

might rather put their service-book; for either they are ignorant and cannot preach, or if they can yet may not, till they procure by money a licence from them. When all this is done the company sing the creed, and receive the communion together. But it must here be observed, that they ordain not any man wholly at once to the office of priesthood, but lead him by degrees up to the pulpit; for they must first be deacons (as they call it) for a year, that is to say, they must receive authority to say prayers, [and] read the scriptures, but in no wise administer the sacraments, or preach, without further licence: then at last he is made a full minister. This practice is professedly affirmed of the Nonconformists, to be a vain invention of man's brain,^j taken from the manner of Popish orders, and clear against the express appointment of the scriptures. Moreover, they will make ministers in their galleries and cloisters at their pleasure; give orders to whom and to how many they list, without any trial, either of their judgment in religion, or of their honesty in conversation: and sometimes make sixty, eighty, or a hundred at a clap, whereof no one is called or desired to any particular congregation, and when they have done, send them abroad

of preaching, or the bishop should not concede the privilege?" "Is it seriously said, *faithfully dispense the word of God?* How can one dispense the word of God who is bound to a Liturgy? &c." *Alt[tare] Dam[ascenum]*, by David Calderwood, ed. 4to. 1708. D. W. L., pp. 432. 433. Canne's, p. 165, refers to some earlier edition.]

^j ["I confess, indeed, that hands were laid upon them, neither do I much stand upon it, what or whose hands they were, but I deny that ever they were chosen to a lawful ministry, or that hands were laid

upon them to this end; yea, rather contrary, they were laid on them for an end that is most contrary to the ministry of the gospel, so that by no means this can be accounted the lawful office of a true pastor: from whence they are as far off, as the priests of Israel, who were appointed by Jeroboam to sacrifice to the calves, were, from that lawful calling which the priests had that were in Jerusalem." "This is a profane oil; and can give no man authority to dispense the mysteries of God." *Neces[sity of] Dis[cipline]*, p. 21. 20. 81. [*Defence*] against Bridges, p. 125.]

as rogues, vagabonds,^k or masterless servants,^l into the country, giving them their bull to preach in other men's charges *where they list, or else get benefices by friendship, * [15] money, flattery, where they can catch them, or if this fail, they may go up and down like beggars, and fall into many vile follies, or set up bills, (as many have done) at Paul's, the Royal Exchange, and such like public places, to see if they can hear of some good master that will hire them, and use their labour; or to conclude, tarry in their college to lead the lives of loitering losels so long as they live. What a horrible and wicked doing is this! Indeed such times are spoken of in the stories of the Judges, when Jonathan the Levite, wanting a high place and an altar, went roving up and down to let out his service to any that would hire him. But it is added, in the same place, that there was no king in Israel. Not without cause may they say (if these things be true) that all reformed churches blush, and are ashamed of them. Yea, and I am persuaded, that if they were fully and truly informed hereof, they would no more communicate with their ministry than they do with that of Rome: for if they did, it would be certainly their great sin, seeing both of them appear to be false and unlawful.

Bright. Rev.
iii. 181.

Thou hast heard (reader) who makes their ministers, and also how they are made: now in the next place, thou shalt hear what they say touching their gifts and qualifications: and if thou wilt in this believe the Noncon-

^k ["By this wandering (we may also say vagabond) ministry, shifting from place to place, and in all places to be counted a minister where he hath no charge, it would grieve a man to think what inconveniences do follow, but principally, how filthily it stinketh of the old popish indelible character, from which it hath its

ground, and neither of any reason, nor of the word of God." *A Second Discourse of Eccles[iastical] Gov[ernment]*, p. 127. [D. W. L. copy, see p. 99.]

^l [I Admo[nition, &c., D. W. L. copy, p. 2, and] p. 15. *Altare D[a-mascenum*, p.] 161.

II Admo.
p. 47. Sold
Barw.
Church
Polie. 236,
237.

formists, "boys and senseless asses are their common ministers for the most part:"^m yea, notorious idolaters, halting hypocrites, openly perjured persons, idle bellied episcures, manifest apostates, old monks and friars, drunkards, *idiots, idols, such as know not a B. from a battledore, or the Lord's Prayer from the Articles of Faith, nor how many sacraments there are; for he that will wear a surplice, a cloak with sleeves, a gown, a cap, a tippet, (ornaments fit enough for such deformed coxcombs,) read a gospel, church women, bid fasting days and holy days, profane the sacraments, pray at the burial of the dead, pronounce a curse against sinners upon Ash Wednesday and at no time else, ordain a new sacrament of the cross in the profanation of baptism, visit the sick with a wafer cake and a wine bottle, read homilies, pray for the prosperity of thieves, pirates, murderers, yea, a pope, a cardinal, an archbishop, a lord b[ishop,] or any other enemy of God and his church; he is a creature fit enough to receive their orders, and by his outward calling is bound to do no more.

Exhortat.
Gover. Wal.
42.

News. Pis.
p. 81.

Bright. Re.
iii. p. 187.

Prefa. p. 3.

Eccles.
Gover. 127.

There are besides these, others of them [the Nonconformists] which witness the same;" to make ministers according to their fashion is nothing else but to make a service sayers, or a reader of prayers out of a book, so that a stark fool or an arrant knave may fulfil all the conditions which they require of him. It is certain, saith Mr. Gilby, "he that will use antichrist's rags, may be made an English priest, be he never such a dolt or villain." The truth is, the condition of those men whom the prelates for the most part thrust into their ministry, is so contemptible and base, as they affirm, that Jeroboam never made worst priests of the refuse of the people to serve

^m [II Admonition, &c., D. W. L. copy,] p. 47.]

ⁿ [The [Necessity of] Discipline,] p. 81. [edit. 1574, pp. 21—24.]

his golden calves.^o Nay, they say more, if the devil did make and send forth ministers, he could not find worse men upon *the earth, and if he would have worse, he * [17] must bring them out of hell.^p Mr. Cartwright saith of a certainty, that "all the ecclesiastical histories extant are not able to furnish us of so many unworthy ministers, chosen by all the churches throughout the world, which have been since the apostles' time as have swarmed these few years, out of the palaces (as out of the Trojan horse) of that small number of b[ishop]s which are in England, &c., and there is as much difference between them and the ministers, chosen in other congregations beyond the sea, as between gold and copper, or any other refuse metal."

Dial. Str.
Ch. p. 82.

2 Rep. i.
p. 537. 148.

I have not yet declared what the Nonconformists write, touching the most ungodly courses used by their priests to procure benefices, and how extremely they tyrannize over the poor people, and will be officers to them, though they consent not unto it, nay howbeit they be wholly against it, and have good reason for it, yet if the patron (whether popish, profane, or religious, all is one) and the bishop do accord in the business, they must necessarily put their necks under the yoke of this wicked usurper, or remove their dwelling, though it be to their utter undoing: beside, the congregation knows not what the conversation is of him who by the arm of flesh is forced upon them, neither his fitness in gifts for the ministry.^q "This cannot be denied," say they, "that there is not any one man or woman amongst forty, in any one parish among forty, that

Preface
Dioc. T.
Pres. Suit.
l. ii. p. 412.

Assertion.
Christ. Ch
Pol. p. 252.

^o ["Jeroboam never made worse priests of the refuse of the people to serve his golden calves, than they have ordained ministers to feed the flock of Christ, which he hath purchased with his own blood."] [*A Learned Discourse of*] *Ecclesias-*

tical Govern[ment], p.] 127.

^p [Dial[ogue concerning the [Str[ife of the] Ch[urch], p. 82.]

^q [Fresh Suit [against Ceremonies, by Dr. W. Ames,] book ii. [p. 112.] [Preface to the Diocesans' Trial. Edition 1621.]

* [18] can tell that ever he, or she, did see or hear of the minister appointed, and sent by the ordinary to be parson, or vicar of the parish vacant, before such time as he or she did hear or see the parish clerk *to trudge with the church door keys, to let in the sexton, to ring the bells for the said parson or vicar's induction and real possession." Oh intolerable bondage! that men should be thus bought and sold like beasts; and yet there is little hope of reformation, in regard to many will rather submit to those slaughterous and inhuman courses than seek to redeem their precious liberty by good and lawful means. And for that base and shameful beggarliness, which they use to get benefices, it cannot be better showed than Mr. Brightman hath truly done it. Thus he writes:—

Upon the
Apoc. ch. iii.
p. 181. Edition 3.

"Let us take a view and make a general muster, as it were, of the whole clergy, and, if you will, let us begin at the basest underlings. The curates, as they call them, are both in very deed and in all men's account, a company of beggarly fellows; in whom a man may see that verified which was threatened against the family of Eli; men bowing themselves to the ground for a piece of silver and a morsel of bread, and craving to be put into one of the priests' offices, that he may have a snap at a crust of bread, I Sam. ii. 36.

"Now for the rest, those that by means of their more full purses walk more lustily, such as we call sturdy beggars, what running up and down is there among them, what bribing, what importunate and impudent begging, what flattering offers do they make of all their obeisance, and all dutiful compliments, that they may come by these ecclesiastical promotions? You may see many of them that post up to the court, or to the house of the right honourable the lord keeper of the great seal, for these two places are like *the beautiful gate of Solomon's temple, Acts iii. 2. Men

* [19]

come in by this way apace, thick and threefold, and they are in great hope to carry away some good relief. Others there are that become followers of noblemen and peers of the land, whose chaplains they become, either household or retainers, as I may call them, that live under their protection; for what end trow ye? Even for this and no other, that, as soon as any benefice, as they call it, shall fall void, they might enjoy it by their lord's gift. And doth not this, I pray ye, seem to be an honest way to get a church living, no such base and beggarly one as you speak of? But is not this currying of favour mere beggary? Is it any whit a less filthy thing to come to a rectory that is of God's appointment by favour, than by money? If we will judge indifferently, it is all one fault to creep in, whether it be by bribing and simony, or by fawning and flattery.

"The rest of the rout in the country are diligent in attending the common sort of patrons, whose thresholds they lie watching at, whose wives they brave and court as if they were their mistresses; whose children they cog with, whose servants they allure with fair words and promises to be their spokesmen, and in every place and point they play the parts of miserable beggars. Some there are that beg more craftily, like to those that sit in the highways or in places where two ways meet, and they offer pill'd rods to passengers, to get a piece of money therewith, as it were a pennyworth for a penny: so do these men make way for their suits by large giving of money in hand, or else by compacting to give some of their yearly tithes for a gratification. But some man will say, All this is not the corruption *of laws, but the corruptness of men. Nay * [20] surely, as long as that manner of conferring ecclesiastical charges taketh place, which hath been in use among us to this day, there can be no remedy applied to cure or prevent

this beggarliness. Do we not sufficiently find it to be true in experience? In the late parliament laws were enacted severely against it, but what came of that? Nothing truly, but that it made men deal more closely and cunningly to cozen the law. We must not think to do any good with our laws where Christ's laws are not observed. But to proceed, when once the living is by beggary obtained from the patron, what a deal of begging work is there to come, for those Sir John Lack-latins, that institution might be had from the b[ishop]. Here he must supplicate, not only to the right reverend lord b[ishop], but to master examiner, to my lord's groom of his chamber, his registrar, the yeoman of his buttery and larder, yea the meanest that belongeth to him. Not that want of Latin and learning will keep him from entrance into his benefice, but that he that hath need of more favour for despatch, or speech with my lord, or the like, must fee the servants the better, whose gain cometh trowling in this way. There is no castle so defenced, which a Latinless ass, laden with golden metal, may not scale and conquer. Neither is there any almost so unfit that hath the repulse, but by what engines he prevaieth, let them look to it.

“The like is the condition of prebendaries, archdeacons, and deans; nay, are the lord bishops themselves clear of this base beggary? What meaneth, then, that continual haunting of the court, and hanging upon the nobles?

• [21]

* Why do they not stay and wait till they be sent for? Yea, why are they not rather pulled away from their studies against their wills? Nay rather if a man should appeal to their consciences, whether or not some of those fat demesnes of their bishoprics let out of their own accord, to such as they seek and sue to, that they might farm and hire them, or else are there not other large bribes covenanted to be given to such as shall stand them in stead for attaining of

these dignities? But are they only thus beggarlike in their ambitious suing for their promotions? Nay truly, some of them are grown so extremely base this way, that if they be to change their see, they pay not their first fruits but by raking together in a filthy fashion an alms from the poor vicars, which yet must go under the name of a benevolence, to make a cleanly cloak withal."

Thus, reader, thou seest how wickedly and basely they come by benefices, and yet thou hast not heard of all their abomination; for the Nonconformists will tell thee further, that after they have gotten one living, they will take another if they can; yea, and in spite too of that congregation to which they were first and are still personally tied. And after all this they may be non-residents, abiding or preaching at none of their many livings,^r but forsake their flocks, months, years, yea sometimes for ever, and leave them to hirelings and unlearned men. Yea they may chop and change, sell and buy like merchants, so they do it closely; which is such an abomination as Rome and Trent condemneth, and hell itself will scarce defend. And as the people are in bondage thus to their ministers, so they [the ministers] are intolerably to *the prelates. * [22] For all power and authority is taken from them, as that they may not preach to their people except they have their licence;^s and if they have that, yet their preaching is

Prof. Dioc.
Tri.

Defen. Godl.
Minister.
ag. Brid. p.
...

So they are
in Rev.
xviii. 11, 12,
[13.]

Def. Discl.
92.

^r ["Your lamentations and threatenings [Dr. Bridges'] are diverted not only from the orders and laws which you make your common sanctuary to defend you in all your iniquities, but also from yourselves, your *nonresidency*, double benefices, loitering, courting, your bitter and public inveighing against your brethren, and enticing of the magistrates against them, the ignorance of your ministers,

their evil example of life and conversation, which are the feeders and nourishers of the capital *sins* you speak of."—*Defen[ce of] Godl[y] Minister[s]*, &c., p. 5.]

^s ["With the papists, all presbyters are not preachers, except that power has been granted to them. So with the English, no one is held to be a preacher by virtue of his ordination, but after the imposition of hands, he

Alt. Dam.
175.

hedged in with penalties, junctions, caveats, canons, advertisements, that they may not deliver the whole counsel of God.^t Besides, they cannot receive the best of their congregation to communion, if he be censured in the spiritual courts, though it be but for not paying of sixpence, be the man otherwise never so innocent; nor keep one from the communion that is not presented in those courts, or being presented, is for money absolved, though he be never so

Def. Pet. for
Refor. p.
206.

scandalous. Thus are they the chancellor's and official's slaves to do what they command them; if not, they themselves must hurry up presently to their spiritual court, there to stand with cap in hand,^u not only before a b[ishop], but before his vassals, to be railed on many times at their pleasure, to be censured, suspended, and deprived, for not observing some of those canons, which were of purpose framed for snares; when far more ancient and honest canons are every day broken by these judges themselves for lucre' sake; as in the making of Utopian ministers, who have no people to minister unto, in their holding of commendams, in their taking of money even to extortion, for orders and institutions, in their simony, as well by giving as by taking, and in all their idle, covetous, and ambitious pomp.^v I omit here to relate

Prof. Dio.
Tri.

must obtain that licence of the bishop." *Altare Damascenum*, p. 433, ed. 1708. Canne's ed. p. 175.]

^t Def[ence of] Discip[line], p. 92. ["Whereby appeareth that howsoever they [the bishops and archbishops, &c.] are transformed, and now are neither pastors, teachers, elders, nor deacons, yet . . . they have wholly devoured them all. All the power, authority, and living, both of pastors, teachers, and deacons, yea and the treasure of the poor also, being possessed and enjoyed by them." This

explains why, in the period to which these words refer, poor rates were invented. Overseers of the poor were appointed in every parish by statute 43 Eliz. c. 2.]

^u [Def[ence of the] Pet[ition] for Refor[mation], p. 206.]

^v ["They are a generation of the earth, earthly, and favour not the ways of God." *Pref[ace to the] Dio[cesans'] Tri[al]*, p. 4, where an account of Baynes, its author, is given. Edition 1621.]

the innumerable profane scoffs and reproachful names given (as they say) by their prelates to their gravest ministers, when they are brought *before them, for they shall be called asses, geese, fools, dolts, princecock boys, beardless boys, yesterday's boys, new come out of the shell, &c.^v And after much railing in this sort silenced, and put out of their means, to the utter undoing of themselves, their wives, children, and others. As I read these things in their writings, I thought upon the great slavery of the Jews under the Philistines, when there was not a sword found amongst them in the day of battle. I confess in this their condition and case was miserable and bad; but, alas, both the ministers and people of the Church of England (as these men report) are in a case ten thousand times worse; for the prelates, under whose anti-christian bondage they are, have quite unfurnished them of the chiefest weapons needful for the Lord's battle; yea, and have so fast tied them up with their Romish canons, articles, excommunications, imprisonments, &c., that they cannot (or at least dare not) give a blow against their spiritual enemies, though there be a necessity thereof, and their souls otherwise are likely to perish. Now I wish that these people were sensible of these things, and that God's house and his ordinances were dear to their souls, then doubtless they would break asunder those chains of unrighteousness, shake antichrist off, and make any shift to come out of Babylon, for to enjoy that light and liberty which Christ hath so dearly purchased with his precious blood.*

^v [These allegations are painfully true, and are taken from the conduct of archbishops and bishops at the examinations of Nonconformist ministers.—*Def[ence, &c.,] ag[ainst] Bridg[es]*, p. 42—46.]

* [“ Our dignities and government cometh wholly and every part thereof from the pope, and is ruled and defended by the same canons, whereby his popedom is supported. So that if I had wanted their [the papists’]

* [23]
Def. ag.
Bridg.

I Sam. xiii.
22.

Neces. Dis.
p. 86.

But to the point in hand. By the former passages it plainly appears that the reformists, not without great cause, have made humble suits unto princes and parliaments, for a lawful ministry to be established throughout the realm, and that their present ministry might utterly be abolished, with the rest of Romish abominations; for not only have they indicted their clergy to be followers of antichrist, and avouched their ministry to be from the pope,^y but also they prove this (as we have showed from their writings) by infallible and undeniable reasons, so that every upright and sincere person (if he well understand what they say) must necessarily consent unto it.

II Admon.
Exhort. to
Bish. and
their Clerg.
p. 27.

I could produce many others of them, which affirm the same thing, but it needs not, seeing enough hereof hath been already spoken. Notwithstanding, it cannot be amiss to set down the words of one more, because the author was a Nonconformist of note, generally well beloved, and not undeservedly. Now thus he saith: "What a miserable pickle are our ministers in, when they are urged to give an account of their calling: to a Papist, indeed, they can give a shifting answer, that they have ordination from bishops, which bishops were ordained by other bishops, and they or their ordainers by popish bishops. This in part may stop the mouth of a Papist, but let a Protestant, which doubteth of these matters, move the question, and what then will they say? If they fly to popish bishops, as they are bishops, then let them go no longer masked under the name of Protestants. If they allege succession by them from the apostles, then

helps, I had none authority, either from God or man, no help either by reason or learning, whereby I could have been furthered" in defending them.—*Dialogue on the State of the Church, in part of a Register*, p. 342.

D. W. L.]

^y [An] Exhort[ation] to [the] Bish[ops] and their Clergy, &c., p. 27. [In the volume containing the Two Admonitions to Parliament. D. W. L. copy, printed 1617.]

(to say nothing of the appropriating of this succession unto the pope's chair, in whose name and by whose authority our English bishops did all things in times past), then I say, they must take a great time for the satisfying of a *poor man concerning this question, and for the justifying of their station; for until that out of good records they can show a perpetual succession from the apostles unto their diocesan, which ordained them, and until they can make the poor man which doubteth perceive the truth and certainty of these records (which I wis they will do at leisure), they can never make that succession appear. If they fly to the king's authority, the king himself will forsake them, and deny that he taketh upon him to make or call ministers. If to the present bishops and archbishops, alas! they are as far to seek as the other."^z

The effect of his speech is, that those which receive their ministry from the prelates (as all do in the Church of England), they cannot any way justify the same to be lawful; for howsoever they may say this or that in the defence of it, notwithstanding it is all either falsehood or vanity which they say, and herein do wholly deceive themselves and every one that believeth them.

Preface
Diocesan
Trial

And thus much in general be spoken concerning the second point, namely, the differences manifested by the Nonconformists between a true ministry and the ministry of England, as also their judgment of it, that it is popish and false, and the many reasons which they show to prove the same. Now in this we and they do also accord, and our difference stands only in practice; for they think (as it seems) that a people may communicate lawfully in a false ministry, but our judgment and practice is otherwise, both which I undertake here to prove, [first,] by scripture;

^z [Diocesans' Trial, Preface. Copy in U. L. C., written by Paul Baynes, with preface by Dr. William Ames.]

[26]

[secondly,] by reasons; [thirdly,] by the testimony of the learned. And so we come to the *third point, which is to lay down our inferences and conclusions, which necessarily do follow upon their principles, to wit, that our separation from their ministry is (by their own grounds) warrantable and holy, the same being (as they themselves acknowledge) false and anti-christian.

SECTION III.

[INFERENCES AND CONCLUSIONS FROM THE FOREGOING STATEMENTS AND CONCESSIONS OF NONCONFORMIST WRITERS, RESPECTING CORRUPTIONS AND DEFECTS IN THE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.]

And, FIRST, of the scriptures. To communicate in a false ministry is certainly a breach of the second commandment. For what do they but indeed set up an idol, yea and bow down unto it, which serve God in and by a devised or usurped ministry. In Song i. 7, 8, the faithful entreat Christ to be showed where he, by his ministry, with his Spirit, word, seals, censures, &c., feedeth his flock, that there they might place themselves for instruction and government, and not turn aside to the flocks of his companions;^a that is, the congregations of false Christs and false prophets,^b which come in his name, saying, I am

Matt. xxiv.
6, 24.

^a ["Tell me, O thou whom my soul loveth, where thou feedest, where thou makest thy flock to rest at noon: for why should I be as one that turneth aside by the flocks of thy companions?"]

"If thou know not, O thou fairest among women, go thy way forth by

the footsteps of the flock, and feed thy kids beside the shepherd's tents."—Song of Solomon i. 7, 8.]

^b ["And Jesus answered and said unto them" [his disciples], "Take heed that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, and shall deceive many: for there shall

Christ, and deceive many. Again: Ephraim is joined to idols.^c What were they? Among other, the new priests which Jeroboam ordained for the high places. What follows? Let him alone; that is, have no communion with him either in his false ministry or other idolatry. Often do the prophets, Christ, and his apostles, forbid men to hear those which thrust themselves into ministerial offices not being sent of God and from the church.^d

SECONDLY, the reasons.

[First.] To communicate in a false *ministry is to do a vain worship, and therefore unacceptable altogether to the Lord.^e

Hos. iv. 17.
See Junius
on the place.

Jer. xxiii.
16. Prov. v.
3. Matt. vii.
15. John x.
4, 5. Phil.
iii. 2.

[27]
John iv. 23.
Rom. xii. 1,
2.

arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that, if it were possible, they shall deceive the very elect."—Matt. xxiv. 4, 5, 24.]

^c ["Though thou, Israel, play the harlot, yet let not Judah offend; and come not ye unto Gilgal, neither go ye up to Beth-aven, nor swear, The Lord liveth. For Israel slideth back as a backsliding heifer; now the Lord will feed them as a lamb in a large place. Ephraim is joined to idols: let him alone. Their drink is sour; they have committed whoredom continually: her rulers with shame do love, Give ye." [They say] "The wind hath bound her up in her wings, and they shall be ashamed because of their sacrifices."—Hosea iv. 15—19.]

^d ["Thus saith the Lord of hosts, Hearken not unto the words of the prophets that prophesy unto you; they make you vain: they speak a vision of their own heart, and not out of the mouth of the Lord."—Jer. xxiii. 16. "For the lips of a strange woman drop as an honey-comb, and

her mouth is smoother than oil."—Prov. v. 3. "Enter ye in at the strait gate; for it is the wide gate, and broad way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat."—Matt. vii. 13. "He that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep: and when he putteth forth his sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him: for they know his voice. I am the good shepherd."—John x. 2, 4, 11. "A stranger will they not follow."—Ib. ver. 5. "Beware of dogs, beware of evil workers."—Phil. iii. 2. ["Come out from among them, and be ye separate, and touch not the unclean thing," &c. —II Cor. vi. 17, 18.]

^e [For "the hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth: for the Father seeketh such to worship him."—John iv. 23. "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service: and be not conformed to this world," &c.—Rom. xii. 1, 2.

Numb.
xvi. Ps. 1.
18. Tim. v.
22.

[Secondly.] In this men do abet the party in his sin, and so make it their own by imputation, and enwrap themselves in the same guilt with the offender.^f

[Thirdly.] God hath promised no blessing to his word but in his own ordinance, though I confess he may, yea and doth grant ofttimes that, through his infinite goodness, which no man can challenge by an ordinary promise.

Matt. xxviii.
20. Luke x.
16. II Thess.
ii. 2, 3, 4.
Rev. xiii.
and xiv. 9.
12; xviii. 4.

[Fourthly.] To do otherwise is to rebel grievously against the Lord, and to uphold, what in us lieth, that which the Lord will consume; therefore as no good subject should assist or communicate with any person in the administration of civil justice to the king's subjects (no not though he administered the same never so legally, justly, impartially) except the same person had a commission from the king so to do; so neither ought the subjects of Christ's kingdom to partake with any person whatsoever in the dispensation of any spiritual ordinance (though in itself never so holy) without sufficient warrant and commission from the most absolute and sovereign King of his church, Christ Jesus.^g

"And the Lord spake unto Moses, saying, Speak unto the congregation, saying, Get ye up from about the tabernacle of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram."—Numb. xvi. 23, 24.]

^f [For Moses "spake unto the congregation, saying, Depart, I pray you, from the tents of these wicked men, and touch nothing of theirs, lest ye be consumed in all their sins."—Numb. xvi. 26. "Unto the wicked God saith, What hast thou to do to declare my statutes, or that thou shouldest take my covenant in thy mouth? Seeing thou hatest instruction, and castest my words behind thee. When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been par-

taker with adulterers."—Ps. 1. 16—18. "Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins: keep thyself pure."—I Tim. v. 22.]

^g ["Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them *into* the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen."—Matt. xxviii. 19, 20. "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me."—Luke x. 16. "Be not soon shaken in mind,

[Fifthly.] Such as have spiritual communion in a false ministry do embrace the bosom of a stranger, and so commit spiritual whoredom against the Lord.

[Sixthly.] Christ setteth it down as a property of his John x. 5. sheep to be observed, that they follow not strangers, but flee from them, for that they know not their voice.

THIRDLY, the learned generally do affirm this same thing. Parens, in his Commentary upon Matthew, *saith, * [28] that "all those, without doubt, are to be taken for deceivers who take upon them the office of teaching without a true calling;" and a little after he saith, that "so much being discovered, a Christian must shut his ear against them, and fly from them as from wolves." Musculus, on the place, saith the like: "One note of a false prophet is, that he comes, not being lawfully called and sent;" and whereas Christ bids us beware of such, he means, saith he, "that we should not hear them, but avoid them as most certain plagues." Cope, a learned minister in France, In Pro. x. 20. speaketh as much, and gives this reason for it, "because they destroy both bodies and souls of as many as either believe or reverence them." And thus much is acknowledged of the papists, for thus they write, "Whosoever Rhemist Test. John x. An. i. taketh upon him to preach without a lawful sending, [to minister sacraments, and is not canonically of a true

or be troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter as from us, as that the day of Christ is at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means: for that day shall not come, except there come a falling away first, and that man of sin be revealed, the son of perdition; who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God." —II Thess. ii. 2—4. "All that dwell

upon the earth shall worship him, [the beast] whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world."—Rev. xiii. 8. "If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God."—Rev. xiv. 9, 10. "Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues."—Rev. xviii. 4.]

catholic bishop, to be a curate of souls, parson, bishop, or what other spiritual pastor soever, and cometh not in by lawful election and holy church's ordinance to that dignity, but] breaketh in, [against order,] by force or favour of men, and by human laws, he is a thief and a murderer."^h And how men are to walk towards them, they show in another place of that book: "In matter of religion, in praying, reading their books, hearing their sermons, presence at their service, partaking of their sacraments, and all other communicating with them in spiritual things, it is a great damnable sin to deal with them."ⁱ And here it is to be observed, that Mr. Cartwright, on this place, in Answer to the Rhem. Test., grants all this to be true.^j

II John 10.

Exhort.
Gover. W.
p. 46.
Admon. p.
27.

* [29]

Other testimonies I could alledge, but it needs not, for the Nonconformists affirm as much. "We may not," say they, "adventure to go unto him [the minister or bishop] for those things which he hath no commission to deliver." Another saith, that whosoever preacheth by an unlawful calling, * "ought not to be heard, although he speaketh the truth, no more than the devil was to be suffered,

^h [Rhemiſt Teſt[ament] on John x. An[notation] i.]

ⁱ [Ibid. on II John 10.]

^j ["This note [of the Rhemiſts], free from matter of controversy, is yet not free from confuſion and ſenſeleſſ ſpeech."—*Cartwright on Rhemiſt Teſtament*, II John 10. And further, "Be it far from us that we ſhould do that injury to the worthy ancient biſhops of Rome, as to make Boniface the Third, with all the ſuit and rabble of biſhops that followed him unto this day, their ſucceſſors, who had no predeceſſor before him of the anti-chriſtian authority that he ſeized upon by

means of Phocas, who killed his own maſter; and therefore if, in ordaining our miniſters, it were neceſſary to have reſort unto a biſhop who can convey his deſcent or ſucceſſion from the apoſtles, we may not go to Rome for our ordination, where the predeceſſors being apoſtolic and Chriſtian, the ſucceſſors are apoſtatical and anti-chriſtian."—*Ibid.* John x. 1. Both parties ſhow the duty of ſeparation, therefore, while the Nonconformiſts themſelves, including Cartwright, prove its neceſſity with reference to the Church of England.]

although he professed Christ."^k "As the firmness of the seal standeth not in the print or form it maketh, but specially that it be set on by one that hath authority thereunto, so much more it is in the case of the sacraments; for to receive the same in a false ministry is to deny God's ministry, and to give the glory of it there where he hath Note. not given it; and to deprive ourselves of this comfort, that our hearts may say, God's solemn voice speaketh, his Fenner Doct. upon the Sacra. p. 127. solemn hand offereth and giveth, which is here the lively stay of our faith."^l

By this it appeareth, that the danger is marvellous great to communicate in a false ministry. A man would pull a sore punishment upon his head, if he should have a hand [undertake or help] to put by a prince's lawful officer (whether judge, mayor, bailiff, &c.), and set up a rebel in the room thereof, and come to him for justice. He that receives in a false ministry denies God's ministry, saith the former author, and so puts a traitor in his place, and takes the holy things from the hands of a traitor, which is a fearful transgression, and surely will procure extreme wrath without true and sound repentance. From all that hath been before spoken, we may here frame this argument.

None may hear or join in spiritual communion with that ministry which hath not a true vocation and calling by election, approbation, and ordination of that faithful people where he is to administer.

But the present ministry of the ecclesiastical assemblies of England hath not a true vocation and calling by election, approbation, and ordination of a *faithful* [30] people where they administer.

^k [Admon[ition to Parliament, D. W. L. copy,] p. 127.]

^l [Fenner Doct[or] upon the Sacra[ments,] p. 127.]

Therefore none may hear or join in spiritual communion with the present ministry of the ecclesiastical assemblies of England.

Which of the propositions the Nonconformists will deny I know not, but sure I am they are both theirs. Howbeit (it may be) they do not so well weigh their own principles as they should, and hence it is that their practice is not strictly answerable to their profession, and therefore do give just occasion (I speak it with grief) unto the prelates and their parasites to insinuate against them hypocritical ends in condemning so grievously the ministry, worship, and government of the English church, and yet to partake in the known evils and abuses thereof. But for my part, I am otherwise minded than the bishops in this thing, and do think that they do of conscience condemn the state of that church, but do not maturely consider the responsive conclusions which follow upon their principles.

For which cause I have written of purpose this treatise, to prove that they cannot justify their tenets against that church, and stand members lawfully thereof. Concerning their ministry I have showed before, that by their own confession it is false, and so not to be joined with. And if I should here end the point, I think every indifferent reader would sufficiently be satisfied. But because I judge the same to be of importance, to justify a separation from them, and also that their ministers are of sundry sorts and degrees, therefore I will speak a little more thereof, and prove *further from their writings that every kind and degree of their ministry is false and antichristian.

* [31]

Preface
before the
Form. and
Man. of
Ord. B. P.
and D.

According to the prelates' canons, their ministers are divided into [three] heads, or orders, namely, bishops, priests, and deacons. The first comprehends the superior, the other two the inferior ministers. What the superior are few but know, viz., archbishops and lord bishops,

against whose courses and callings whole books have been written, to manifest the same to be evil and unlawful. I shall only here briefly lay down some of their passages touching both, referring the reader for more full satisfaction to that which is published at large by them. As for their bishops, if they be as the Nonconformists report of them, surely they are not fit for church or commonwealth, for "they oppose (say they) with tooth and nail every thing that is good. They have had their hand [(as hath been proved)] in all the great evils that have befallen their [the] church and state: never any good thing prospered that they put their hand to; the king and state stood never in need, but they always deceived them; and [lastly (as the princes said)], if opportunity serve, they will make peace with their head (he means the pope), if it be with the loss of all their^m heads,—if they continue their places." And hence it is that "all the professed enemies of state and church make use [of this prelacy] to effect their evil ends; as David said of Goliath's sword, there is none [like] to that, so saith the pope, Spaniard, and Arminian, for overturning of a state, and making havoc of a church, there is none [like] to a bishop, give them that."ⁿ

Sion's Plea,
p. 216.

1b 232.

To the same purpose others. "They are the greatest and most pestilent enemies that the state hath, and are likely *to be the ruin thereof."^o "Take them for better * [32]

^m ["Our," meaning the princes' heads.]

ⁿ [Sion's Plea, [&c., by Dr. Laiton,] p. 216 and p. 232.]

^o ["But our archbishops and bishops, which hold it lawful for her majesty and the state to retain this established form of government, and to keep out the government by pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons, which was appointed by Christ, whom

you, profane T[homas] C[oooper], call you know not whom, hold it lawful for her majesty and the state to bid God to battle against them. Because they bid the Lord to battle against them who maim and deform the body of Christ, viz., the church. And they, as was declared, maim and deform the body of the church, who keep out the lawful officers, appointed by the Lord to be members thereof, and in their

Hay any
Work, p.
14, &c.
11 Admon.
to Parl. 54.
Sion's Pl.
342, & 337,
& 292.
Alt. Dam.
35.
Rep. to Mor.
p. 21.
Pref. Ans.
Bancr.
Pref. Offer
for Conf.
Demonst.
Dis. 79.
Mart. Epist.
& 33, 37.
M. Bates,
84.
D. State
Chu. 20.
Offer for
Confer. 20,
7, 4.

who will, they are no other than a remnant of antichrist's brood,^p a viperous generation, caterpillars,^q moths, canker-worms,^r sons of that monstrous giant the man of sin, men of bloods, base fellows, murderous tyrants, usurpers, time-servers, cages of unclean birds, unnatural, false, and bastardly governors, lordly epicures, proud, popish, pre-sumptuous, perfidious, profane, paltry, and pernicious pre-lates,^s open enemies to the sincere preaching of the gospel, the sceptre of Christ's kingdom, and the glory of the land, men contented to be bawds unto all kind of sins, and therefore all the professed and notorious^t atheists, papists, blasphemers, adulterers, drunkards,^u and most infamous persons in the kingdom are with them; they have further with them the counsel of Achitophel, the courting of Shebna,

stead, place other wooden members of the invention of man." . . . "Like you any of these *nuts*, John Canterbury? I am not disposed to jest in this serious matter." . . . "My purpose was and is to do good. I know I have done no harm, howsoever some may judge Martin to mar all. They are very weak ones who so think. In that which I have written I know undoubtedly that I have done the Lord and the state of this kingdom great service; because I have in some sort discovered the greatest enemies thereof. And by so much the most pestilent enemies, because they wound God's religion, and corrupt the same with atheism and looseness, and so call for God's vengeance upon us all, even under the colour of religion. I affirm them to be the greatest enemies that now our state hath."—*Hay [have ye] any Work [for Cooper]*, p. 14. A lampoon by Martin Mar-prelate, against T. C., supposed to be Thomas Cooper, bishop of Winchester, or his

curate. The writers of these satires were never known, but the press which printed their works was moved, from county to county, under the protection of the most respectable and wealthy Puritans.]

^p [11 Admonition to Parliament, p. 54. [Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 28.]

^q [D[ialogue; on The] State [of the] Church, p. 20. D. W. L. copy, printed without date.]

^r [Sion's Plea, &c., pp. 342, 337, and 292.]

^s ["We acknowledge no such church to be of God's making."—*Reply to Dr. Morton*, p. 21. [D. W. L. copy, printed 1623.] [*A Christian and Modest Offer for Conference*, &c. Preface, p. 5. [D. W. L.]

^t [These statements are wofully confirmed in *Altare Damascenum*, pp. 65—71, ed. 1703. The reference of Canne in his edition is to p. 35.]

^u [Offer for Conference before described, D. W. L. copy, p. 20, 8.]

the roaring and brawling of Goliah, the cruel pride and vanity of Haman, the flattery of Amaziah, the falsehood of Shemaiah, and the bloody cunning of Doeg; ^{Sion's Pl. 292.} these wax worse and worse, and grow to a height of iniquity, grieving at the increase of good men, and persecute nothing more than holiness: they care not for king, country, nor their own souls, but for a bishopric. And, therefore, if they can by flatteries, invectives, whisperings, or other evil courses, keep the king and counsel so ignorant and blind as to be firm on their side, they care for no more; to be short, the best of them, in some sort are the worst, because they hold up the reputation of that unlawful office, and make way for more wicked successors and their traditions.

*Much more than this, yea, and worse too, is said of ^{* [33]} their b[ishops] but I pass it over, as blushing to speak it. ^{Read Martin Martin's Works, Pro. xxix. 2.} Only I here think of that saying in the Proverbs, "when the wicked beareth rule, the people mourn." It was just so with the Israelites, when Pharaoh set cruel taskmasters over them: and it seems their case is much like unto it; indeed some difference there is, for the Egyptian lords only beat the Lord's people; but their prelates, (say they) imprison and kill them also. I should wonder at such horrible injuries committed in any commonwealth; but that the scripture saith, "the kings of the earth shall give ^{Exo. ii. 23.} their strength and power to the beast;" the truth whereof many can witness by woeful experience: for princes generally in those days have given so much authority unto the hierarchy, that they have scarce left themselves power to defend many times the innocent cause of their best subjects, or to punish justly the vilest offender: we would think him a man senseless that should give up willingly his weapons into the hand of his enemy; for to do so, were to be murdered himself, and to be accessary to it, ^{Def. Peti. 261. Epist. Sion's Plea, &c. p. 261.}

† [Sion's Plea, &c., p. 292. Jeremiah xxix. 24—32.] ^{Revel. xvii. 13.}

The bishops are proved to be the greatest enemies that the king and state hath; surely then (with reverence be it spoken,) it is not wisely done, that any power is given unto them. For by this means in all likelihood, many will be killed, and not in their bodies only, but in their souls also.

But enough of their persons, let us hear what they speak of their callings: "the offices, (say they) of arch-
 * [34] bishops and lord bishops, &c. be rather members and *part of the whore and strumpet of Rome, than of the pure virgin and spouse of the immaculate Lamb." Their calling indeed is merely antichristian, false, devilish, "contrary to the word of God,"^w taken out of the pope's shop, with their names also; yea, it came from the bottomless pit. I say from heathens, from darkness, and the devil, a thing degenerate, and grown out of kind, a human creature, an addition, an institution, an ordinance of kings and princes; as it began with oppressing the only lawful policy and administration of the church, so the end of it hath been the most proud and ambitious tyranny that ever was in the world. It is as clear as the light, that they are no branches of God's engrafting, their ministry hath no root in Christ's Testament, but of the earth, new devised, and which can do no good.^x

D. Chad.
 Ser. Rom.
 xii. p. 33.
 Udall.
 Diol. 2.
 Stat. Ch.
 p. 20.
 Offer Con-
 fer. 2.
 I Admo.
 p. 13.
 T. C. I. i.
 p. 88.
 Curt. Ch.
 Po. 76.
 Disc. of
 Abus. Ch.
 71 and 91.

^w ["Our dignities and government, come wholly and every part thereof from the pope, and is ruled and defended by the same canons, whereby his popedom is supported. So that if I had wanted their helps [against the Puritans] I had had none authority, either from God or man, no help either by reason or learning, whereby I could have been furthered."] *Udall, II Dialogue on] the State [of the] Church*, p. 20, [21. D. W. L. copy.]

[A Christian and Modest] Of-

fer [for] Con[fer]ence, &c., p. 2. [D. W. L. copy.]

^x ["From the pope to the cardinal, and from the cardinal to the archbishop, and from the archbishop to the lord bishop, and from the lord bishop to the priest, they [the prelates] can give no reason of any calling they have out of the word of God; but all are the inventions of man, to deface the true word of God, and the true governors of the same."]—*Sentences made by Dudley Fenner, from a Paper endorsed by Lord Burghley, in Strype's Whitgift*, p. 124.]

As for the apostles they never knew them, Sion hath not heard of them, Jerusalem, which is above, will not acknowledge them, and no marvel, for antichrist, and they are of one and the same brood and offspring, of one and the same foundation,^y his rising was their rising, &c., and their traditions and ceremonies are his, they had them from him, they are installed after the same manner of popish bishops, created with the most of the same ceremonies, they are trimmed up with the same trappings, they have the like attendants, the like arms and observancy, they usurp the same power and jurisdiction, and exercise the like tyranny over ministers and people.^z All their principal reasons brought "to prove their standing, are the same that Turrianus and other Popish writers allege for the pope's supremacy, *as indeed they must stand or fall together."^a It is evident, therefore, that they are no ministers at all in the church of Christ,^b but have and do usurp and invade the name and seat of the ministry, being doubtless very thieves, robbers, wolves, and warriors of the flocks; the magistrate therefore is to do to them as our Saviour dealt (John ii. 14,) in whipping out buyers and sellers, and money-changers; those might better come into the temple than these bishops into the church of God, and had more necessary use: but they had abused holy things, and made it a den of thieves.^c

Defen.
Disc. 71.
D. Ch. Ser.
Ro. xii. 37.
Curt. Ch.
Po. p. 64.
Repl. to
Mort. 85.

Sion's Pl.
69.

Def. Disc.
p. 165.

* [35]

Strife of
the Church
Prefa.
Reproof
of Mart.
Junior. Mr.
Bates 55.

^y [Defen[ce] of Disc[ipline,] 71.

^z [Sion's Plea, [&c. by Dr. Laiton,] p. 69.]

^a [Def[ence of] Disc[ipline,] p. 165.]

^b [Dialogue concerning the] Strife of the Church; Preface. [Anonymous, printed 1584. D. W. L.]

^c ["Would to God, say they, the common enemy did not laugh at these our common shows!" [promises of

reformation in the ministry,] "and yet no one performance. Would to God, it were but examined by authority, what a rabble hath past," [into holy orders] "contrary to that solemn order professed; with what exaction, corruption, with what merchandize! We have heard with our ears, some wise and discreet of the clergy lament the miserable state in the country. . . The poor minister being de-

Not only is this barely affirmed of them, but also they do lay down many singular arguments and reasons to prove it; to instance these.

[1.] Those offices and callings are antichristian, without which all forms of governments are perfect, save only the government of the kingdom of antichrist.

But such are the callings of lord archbishops and bishops, as all forms of governments may be perfect without them, save only the antichristian kingdom, where in no case they can be missed. For the government both of the Church and commonwealth can well spare them, and be never a whit the more unperfect.

Therefore the callings of archb[ishops] and b[ishops] do only belong unto the kingdom of antichrist.

[2.] Those governors are justly called antichristian, who are assistant to the pope in his universal government. But bishops, archbishops, &c. are assistant to the pope in his universal government.

Therefore bishops, archb[ishop]s, &c., are justly called antichristian.

[3.] *That ministry, which all Christian men and women are bound to submit and yield obedience unto, is to be found in the word of God.^d

But the ministry of archbishops [and bishops] is not to be found in the word of God.

Ergo, there ought not to be obedience yielded to it.

manded, why he did not complain, answered, Alas! to whom shall we complain? All the country seeth how the world goes, well enough." —*Letter of the Dean and Chapter in the Diocese of Lichfield, to the Commission of 1583, in Strype's Whitgift, p. 103.*

^d ["The word of God describeth perfectly unto us, that form of governing the church which is lawful, and the officers that are to execute the same, from the which no Christian church ought to swerve."] *Demonstration of Discipline,* p. 13. [D. W. L.]

Answ. to
Bancr.
Ser. p. 30.
T. C. 85.

Sion's Pl.
11.

* [36]

Demonst.
Disc. p. 12,
13.

He that desires to see the prelate's arguments answered, and soundly refuted, which they allege to uphold their unsanctified places and standings, let him read Mr. Baynes's *Diocesans' Trial*,^e the first and second reply to Doct. Downham's Sermon, Mr. Parker's *Eccles. Polit.*, and there he shall receive satisfaction to the full.

Moreover, such is their certainty of this thing, that they have often challenged, yea, dared the prelates unto disputation: offering to adventure their lives, if the other would but their bishoprics,^f to prove that they are neither pastors nor teachers, but officers erected against the word of God, the ancient fathers, and the modern most learned and godly divines:^g and the like they speak of archdeacons, deans, prebends, canons, and the whole hierarchy: of which more hereafter.

If this be so, then by the reasons before shown, it is evident and most certain, that no man can lawfully communicate, at any time, in the ministry of these men, and so much they acknowledge. "Why should God's people of what degree soever, subject their neck to a Babylonish yoke, should they not stand fast in the liberty wherein Christ hath set them free? if they [the prelates] sit not in Moses' chair, why should they [the people] hear them? If they [the prelates] bring not a lawful warrant of their calling, *why should they be obeyed? to hear and obey * [37] Christ, coming in his Father's name, and antichristian

Preface
Demonst.
Defen. Ec.
Gov. ag.
Bridg. p. 88.
Protest.
Scott. p. 11.
T. C. l. i. p.
96.
D. Cha.
Ro. xii. 33.
Second
Book. Dis.
p. 85.

Sion's Plea,
p. 283.

* [The *Diocesans' Trial*, wherein all the sinews of Dr. Downham's Defence are brought into three heads, and orderly dissolved by Paul Baynes. Imprinted in 1621; reprinted with a Preface, by Dr. William Ames, in 1644. U. L. C.]

^f ["Venture your bishoprics upon a disputation, and we will venture our lives, take the challenge if you dare."

Demonstration of Discipline, p. 4, 5, D. W. L.]

^g ["We are able, by the grace of God, and will offer ourselves to prove that this bishopric to be erected [in Scotland] is against the word of God, the ancient fathers, and canons of the church."]—*Protest[ations from Scotland]*, p. 11. [D. W. L. copy, printed 1608.]

prelates coming in their own name, cannot subsist together.”

But because the thing is already sufficiently proved, we will therefore proceed to a second sort of their ministers. Yet by the way, I desire the reader to take knowledge of one thing; to wit, that the Nonconformists by these positions laid down against their prelates, do herein certainly condemn their whole ministry allowed by the laws of the land: for if the calling and office of their bishops be (as they say it is) of the earth, false, devilish, anti-christian, &c.: then it follows, that their calling and office must necessarily be of the same quality, nature, and condition; to wit, of the earth, false, devilish, antichristian, which is wholly derived from it, which receives (I say) and takes its life and being of it only, and nowhere else; for, if their bishops have not a right power in themselves, then can they not transfer it to another, as the law saith, *Nemo potest plus juris transferre in alium, quam sibi competere dignoscatur*:—“No man can give more to another than he hath himself.” If Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, when they usurped the priesthood and government of the church, should (by that false power which they assumed) have ordained some of the people unto the priest’s office: no doubt all the Israelites which feared the Lord, would have judged their place and standing unlawful, and why? because they which made them had no commission from God so to do. The case of their ministry is just so. And it must needs *be unlawful, seeing it is made by them, who like the rebels before-named, do usurp the priesthood and government of the church; and therefore have no more authority to give an ecclesiastical function unto any man, than the former had, and so much is testified by [the Nonconformists] themselves; for they say that their priests and deacons, bishops and archbishops,

Rex Juris.
79

Num. xvi

* [38]

are not made according to the word of God. And they give reasons that it is not lawful for any one to be ordained by them.

And here I must confess that the Conformists keep much better to their grounds than the other do; for they profess downright that their ministry is from the church of Rome: so that if the popish bishops, priests, and deacons, be good: theirs are good also, they being from them. Now no doubt these men do well perceive that their ministry cannot possibly be justified, unless it be by this way of dispute: in this respect their judgment and practice is one, and so far they are to be commended; and I verily think, that if they were sure that their ministry brought into the land by the prelates from Rome is false and antichristian, as the Nonconformists affirm it to be, that many of them would not hereafter ever have any spiritual communion with it. Truly it would make a man admire, if he should understandingly compare together the writings of these two companies touching a church ministry: for in their opinions about it, they are as contrary each to other as light is to darkness, Christ to Belial, righteousness to unrighteousness, notwithstanding though *so different in judgment, yet they will communicate together in one ministry; but one of these against knowledge offends surely, and let them look well to it, for to him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin, that is, his fault is so much the more; and proportionably, his condemnation shall be, without repentance.

We come now to their inferior ministers, and will begin first with their bare readers: these poor creatures the Nonconformists do call idle idols, yea, bastardly idols, greedy curs, dumb dogs, slayers of the people, wolves, ignorant asses, filthy swine, such as are not worthy to

Cathol.
Confer.
p. 130.
Yate's
Mod. of
Div. p. 257.
See Mr.
Mason's
Book of
Succession
of Bishops,
published
by autho-
rity, anno
1614.

• [39]

Jam. iv. 17

Modest
Off. Adm.
10. Eccles.
Gov. 45.
Sion's Pl.
107. T. C.
l. i. 134.
Pref. Dem.
De Eccles.
60. 47. 50.
39.

Rem. imp.
D. C. 275.

Atters.
Phile. v. 6.
p. 130.

live in a well-ordered commonwealth, foolish shepherds, unsavoury salt, good for nothing but to be cast out to the dunghill, cankers of their church, a swarm of caterpillars, the trash and riff-raff of their nation, a woeful crew, a ragged regiment, which have even covered the land like the frogs of Egypt, leading many thousands with themselves into the ditch.^h It can hardly be expressed how base and vile these are generally reputed, indeed they are held no better than thieves and murderers, which live by the ruin and spoil of the people. Sometimes ye shall hear them in their pulpits so terribly spoken against, that one would think they would rather return unto their old former occupation of husbandry, cobbling, cookery, &c., than ever come again to their churches for to read matins and evening song. And touching the prelates, they are esteemed as base and contemptible, every way, for putting such duncical and unlettered Sir Johns in their ministry: I could relate many instances *of their infamous carriages therein, but it is not my purpose to rake into their dung. The Nonconformists have done it sufficiently, insomuch as they do stink horribly for it in the nostrils of the people. But to our purpose; if things be so, is not the ministry then of such men to be left? Yea, surely, a man that is fallen into the hands of "thieves and murderers," if by any means he can escape with his life from them, shall therein be justified by the law of God, of nature and nations; now by how much a spiritual life is better than a corporal, by so

^h [To transcribe all the passages which justify these terrible quotations from the Nonconformists' works of that time would too much encumber these pages. Canne's references are—*Modest Offer of Conference*, by Henry Jacob.] *I Adm[onition to Parlia-*

ment,] p. 10. D. W. L. copies. *Ecclesiastical Gov[ernment, Learned Discourse of*, by Henry Jacob, D. W. L. copy.] p. 45. *Sion's Plea*, by Dr. Laiton, U. L. C. copy, p. 107. T. C. l. i. 34. Preface to *Dem[onstration of] Ecclesiastical Discipline*.]

much are they to be commended above the other, which come away from these soul-slayers, and place themselves under the ministry of true and lawful pastors.ⁱ

And for further proof of what I say, I desire the reader to mark well what is said,

First. Against the calling of these men.

[And *Secondly.*] Against that work and service which they do.

[FIRST.] Their calling is said to be from the pope, a mere human invention, taken up without any warrant from God's word,^j and brought into the church by the boldness of men.^k And to prove that these are unlawful ministers, many reasons are rendered for it.

Adm. 15, 16.
Eccl. Gov.
44.
Necess. Dis.
45.
Exh. Gov.
10. 14.
M. Bates,
p. 155.

ⁱ ["The necessity of this thing is many ways apparent, both in that it hath so plentiful warrant from God's own word, (as the course of this book doth evidently declare,) and also in that the gospel can take no root, nor have any free passage, for want of it; and the greatness of your fault appeareth by this, that in so doing you are the cause of all the ignorance, atheisms, schisms, treasons, popery, and ungodliness, that is to be found in this land, which we challenge to prove to your faces, if we may indifferently be heard, and whereof in the meanwhile we will give you a taste: for the first it is clear, that you are the causers of that damnable ignorance, wherein the people are so generally wrapped, for that you have from time to time stopped the streams of knowledge, in those places where the Lord in mercy bestowed the same, and instead of able and powerful ministers, have pestered the church, either with presumptuous proud persons, that are esteemed learned, and take no pains

to bring the people unto the knowledge of Jesus Christ, or (which is the greatest number) such ignorant asses, and filthy swine, as are not worthy to live in a well-ordered commonwealth; and that you are the cause of all atheism, it is plain, for one may (as indeed many do) profess it, and you say nothing to him for it. If the most filthy liver will fawn upon you, and bribe your servants, you will not only favour him, but assist him against any godly minister or other; but if any that fear God, refuse to come under the level of your popish ceremonies, he shall be molested, till his purse be empty, or else by your tyrannous dealing, he have made shipwreck of a good conscience."—*Address to the Supposed Governors of the Church of England,* in "*Demonstration of Discipline.*" D. W. L. copy, pp. 2, 3.]

^j [A Learned Discourse of] Eccl[esiastical] Gov[ernment, p.] 44.]

^k [I Adm[onition to the Parliament, D. W. L. copy,] pp. 15, 16.]

[*First.*] Because they want the very life, essence, and being, whereby a minister is a minister.¹

[*Secondly.*] The common law, provincial law, civil law, and statute law, pronounce all with one voice and consent, that they have no approbation or allowance, no favour or entertainment from them, or by their authority, &c.; but, being found culpable they are by definitive sentence, on the part and behoof of the law, not only to be *adjudged guilty of voluntary intrusion into the right and possession of others, but also to be punished for taking upon them offices without any lawful calling.

* [41]

Abstr. p.
16. 19.
Eccl. Gov.
46, 47.
T. C. l. i. p.
70.
Eccles.
Gov. 46.
First Book
of Disc.
30, 31.

[*Thirdly.*] Theyⁿ can do nothing which appertaineth to the charge and office of true and faithful shepherds, and therefore justly called idols. For they stand for that, and make show of that which they are not.ⁿ

[*Fourthly.*] It is a like to have no minister at all, as to have an idol in the place of a true minister, yea, and in some case it is worse, for those that be utterly destitute of ministers will be diligent to search for them: but those which have a vain shadow, do commonly, without further care, content themselves with the same, and so remain they continually deceived, thinking they have a minister when in very deed they have none. For we cannot judge him a dispensator of God's mysteries, that in no wise can break the bread of life to the fainting and hungering souls,^o neither think we that the sacraments

Dia. Str.
Ch. 93.

¹ [Necess[ity of] Dis[cipline,] pp. 45—66, edit. 1574.]

ⁿ [Learned Discourse of] Eccl[esiastical] Gov[ernment, p.] 46, 47. [D. W. L. copy.]

ⁿ [“For what do these reading ministers differ from these idle shepherds, which God in his vengeance

threateneth to send for the ingratitude of the people.”—*Learned Discourse of] Eccles[iastical] Gov[ernment,] p.* 47. [D. W. L. copy.]

^o [Dia[logue concerning the] Strife [of our] Ch[urch,] p. 93. [D. W. L. copy.]

can be rightly administered by him in whose mouth God hath put no sermon of exhortation.^p

Sol. Bar.
Adm. p. 47.
T. C. l. i.
p. 33.

[*Fifthly.*] God rejecteth them and pronounceth that they shall be no ministers to him, Hos. iv.

[*Sixthly.*] The retaining of such is a manifest token of the vengeance of God against all them which do it.

[*Seventhly.*] Their name and office is taken only of the pope, that Roman antichrist, never by God erected in his church.

Many other reasons they give, to prove them to be unlawful and false officers, not sent of Christ (for all whom he sendeth he furnisheth with gifts,) no better than Jeroboam's priests; and, therefore,* utterly to be removed, if ever such a reformation be minded as God shall be thereby glorified and his church edified.

Def. Pet.
for Ref. 98.
99, 106.

* [42]

If any should object that the prelates have laid their hands upon them, and therefore they are ministers. To this the Nonconformists do answer, that when the bishop hath laid his hands on them, that then they are no more ministers than they were before.^q

T. C. l. i. p.
61.

But there is no need to spend much time, to prove these men's ministry false and unlawful; seeing none will reply for them, that have any spark of piety to God, or pity towards his people: only some non-residents that keep poor underlings, or greedy patrons, that would have the light of the gospel die: or poor ignorant people that would live at their own wills, in all licentiousness, these happily would undertake the plea against Christ, but it were better their tongue should cleave to the roof of their

M. Bates,
154.

^p [Sol. Barw. refers to A Pleasant Dialogue between a Soldier of Barwick and an English Chaplain. One copy of this work has been preserved in B. L. O.]

^q [T. C. l. i. p. 33 means, page 33, of Thomas Cartwright's first Reply to Whitgift, in Defence of the Admonition to Parliament. It was published in 1573.]

mouth, than that they should once dare go about the overthrow of Christ's ministry.^a

And is not this a ground of separation? yes verily, and if the Nonconformists will stand to it, I will hence prove a necessity to separate from all spiritual communion, with the greatest number of their parish assemblies: and thus I reason.

A dumb ministry being unlawful and false, is to be separated from.

Their ministers, for the greatest part, are dumb ministers.

Therefore it is lawful to separate from the greatest part of their ministers.

The proposition is manifest and clear, and I dare say they will not deny it: for besides * the reasons already given, it is confidently by them affirmed, that a reading ministry cannot deliver the Lord's holy seals unto the people without great sacrilege, nor the people receive at the hands of such without dreadful sins, and whosoever listeth to read the place, he shall see many effectual arguments laid down by the author to prove it, and this is

* [43]

Exhor.
Gov. W.
26.

^a ["I will tell you how [many are with you and few like you,] the papist is on the bishops' side, because he can find shelter under them to hide his idolatry: the atheist is tooth and nail for them, because by them he enjoyeth carnal liberty: the man of most notorious life defendeth them, because he can from them redeem the corporal punishment of his sins by money: but none of these like of them indeed. The first, because they keep possession of the seats of their popish prelates: the other because they are so greedy of their courts for money, that even every man crieth shame on them, who then do love

them indeed, and stick to them, only these three hangbys, that depend upon them and live by them, as their chaplains and servants: the Canaanites (I should say) the canonists, and such ministers as either cannot, or will not labour in their functions, to convert souls unto God; so that they do stink in the nostrils both of God and man, especially in these last three years of their tyranny, that I do verily hope their sin is very near the height, and the Lord in mercy will ease us of them shortly."—*Dial. on the State of the Church of England.*" In "*Part of a Register,*" &c. D. W. L. p. 351.]

not the judgment of one alone, but others of them affirm it to be an unlawful thing, to join with reading ministers in any ministerial duty, either in praying, or administering the sacraments, and he gives ten worthy reasons for it.

Mr. Bates,
p. 159, 160.
&c.

The assumption I prove also by their own testimony : for they say, that "generally throughout the land there are six reading priests to one preacher." Yea, others of them do affirm, that where the b[ishops] ordain one minister that can preach, they make twenty that cannot ; so that there are many thousand churches in England without preachers, (*Defenc. Pet. for Refor.* 130,) and in some shires people must go fourteen or twenty miles to hear a sermon. *Defenc. against Bridg.* p. 49.

Repl. to
Powel. 74.
Petit. Q. 5.

Now I wish them to consider well of these things, and to labour what they can for their brethren's deliverance, out of these "spiritual robbers" and "murderers' hands."

He that should come to a deep pit or well, wherein do lie many people almost perished, if he should see there some of them come forth from the rest, would we

* ["A Mild and Just Defence of the Arguments, &c. against the Answer, &c., by Gabriel Powell," p. 74. [D. W. L. copy, imprinted 1606.] [Petition to the] Q[ueen].]

⁶ ["How many thousand ministers be there in England, suffered to exercise their office, and to enjoy their livings, who have none of those properties that are required in one that shall serve in that room [office] in God's church . . . and none in a manner found worthy to be thrust out of their livings, but such as will not agree to put on the pope's livery . . . 'I could rehearse by name a bishop's boy, ruffianly both in behaviour and apparel, at every word swearing, &c.

having ecclesiastical promotion. . . . I could name whoremongers being taken and also confessing the lechery, and yet both enjoying their livings and having their mouths open, not stopped nor forbidden to preach. . . . I know double beneficed men that do nothing else but eat, drink, sleep, play at dice, cards, tables, bowls, and read service in the church : but these infect not their flocks with false doctrine, for they teach nothing at all. Thus it is evident, that God's commandments are fayne [are made] to give place to man's tradition." — *Master Doctor's Wy : Epistle in Defence of the Faithful.* Part of a Register. D. W. L. copy, p. 9.]

* [44] not judge him an unmerciful and cruel man, if he should rather seek to cast them in again, than to help out the other behind in misery : such as live under a *dumb ministry (by the Nonconformists' confession) are in a far worse case ; therefore I hope hereafter they will give no more carnal counsel, to persuade those which are escaped, to come back into that pit again, but rather will seek to draw out the rest, as their duty is to do.

SECONDLY. For the work which these idle readers do, we shall have a fit place hereafter to speak of it. Only by the way, I think good to set down here one of their passages, which is, that bare reading of the word, and single service saying, it is bare feeding, and rather an English popery than a true Christian ministry ; yea, it is as evil as playing upon a stage, and worse too : for players learn their parts without book, but these (at least many of them) can scarce read within book ;^t how, is their service saying as bad as stage playing ? What, and worse too ! truly then it is bad enough, and far be it from the Lord's people to hear it ; for if they should do so, they would sacrifice unto the Lord a corrupt thing, and so be liable Chap. i. 14. justly to that curse in Malachi.^u

Thus much for their dumb ministry. It follows next, that we speak of their parsons, vicars, parish priests, stipendiaries, and chaplains. “ If you will know (say the Nonconformists) whence all these came, we can easily answer you, that they came from the pope, as out of the Trojan horses' belly to the destruction of God's kingdom.”^v Admo. p. 15, 16. Sol. Barw. It is certain that their names and office is wholly from

^t [I Admon[ition to the Parliament. D. W. L. copy,] p. 10.]

^u [“ Cursed be the deceiver, which hath in his flock a male, and voweth and sacrificeth unto the Lord a corrupt thing ; for I am a great king,

saith the Lord of hosts, and my name is dreadful among the heathen.” —Malachi i. 14.]

^v [I Admo[nition to the Parliament, D. W. L. copy,] pp. 15, 16.]

that Roman antichrist, never instituted either by Christ or his apostles; for the church of God never knew them, neither doth any reformed church in the *world know them. These are clouds without rain, trees without fruit, painted sepulchres full of dead bones, fatted in all abundance of iniquity; such as seek not the Lord Jesus, but their own bellies.

Mr. Bale, in his exposition upon the Revelation, speaks the same, that these are the very names of blasphemy, written upon the beast's head, against the Lord and his Christ: their offices are not appointed by the Holy Ghost, nor yet mentioned in the scriptures.

Here is enough spoken for the condemnation of their calling, and for the justification of separation from all communion therewith: from hence I might frame this argument.

Whosoever he be that dealeth with the holy things of God, and worketh upon the consciences of men, by virtue of an antichristian power, office, and calling, him the people of God ought not to receive, or join themselves unto.

But all the parsons, vicars, parish priests, stipendiaries, &c. that stand over the church assemblies in England, deal with the holy things of God, and work upon men's consciences, by virtue of an antichristian power, office, and calling.

Therefore the people of God ought not to receive them, or to join themselves unto them.

The first part of this reason the Nonconformists do yield willingly unto, as it is to be seen in a treatise between Mr. Fr. Jo.^w and Mr. Hild., about the ministry

^w [Mr. Fr[ancis] Jo[h]nson was a predecessor of John Canne in the same charge]: Mr. Hild[erham] was an eminent Nonconformist divine, re-

of England: as for the other part, I hope they will not now deny it, seeing they have published it openly and often to the world: yea, and many of them suffered grievous persecutions at the hands of the prelates, for affirming it, and other truths of this nature.

* [46] But to keep them to their own grounds, in the assumption: I will here lay down another argument.

If their parsons, vicars, parish priests, stipendiaries, &c., be neither in election nor ordination made ministers agreeable to God's word, then is their ministry false, unlawful, antichristian, and so consequently they deal with the holy things of God, &c., as is before said.

But neither in their election nor ordination are they made ministers according to God's word.

Therefore is their ministry false, unlawful, antichristian, &c.

Both these propositions I will prove true by their own writings. Of the first thus they say: "A due examination of learning and life going before, the free consent of the church, whom it concerneth, and ordination or laying on of hands by those to whom it appertaineth, is so required, as if default be made either in the examination or election, the whole action is disannulled and made void."^x I desire the reader to note well what they say here: viz., so necessary is a right election and ordination to every ecclesiastical office: that without the same, it

Defen. of
Discip. ag.
Bridg. p.
109.

lated to cardinal Pole, and the royal family. He first, in rejecting popery, sacrificed his paternal estate: by becoming a Puritan he provoked the High Commission, which followed him with repeated prosecutions till within about a year of his death. He was somewhat protected at Ashby de la Zouch, by the Huntingdon family, and lies buried there. He

died in 1631, was sixty-eight years of age: laboured, with intervals through persecution, forty-three years in Ashby; he was a leader of the Puritans, and called, from his firm resistance of separation, "*the hammer of schismatics.*"

^x [Defence of Discipline against Bridges, p. 109.]

cannot possibly be true and lawful. The same they do p. 108. again affirm, a little before the place cited; "indeed if their evil had been only in life (meaning popish priests) or in some principal points of doctrine, it were something [he said]: but their defect is in the very calling: for Christ being the door, and God that openeth to the pastors who enter by it, all that enter otherwise are thieves and murderers."^y

We have also to prove the minor, their own testimony, for they say^z directly, that not any one of the forenamed officers are either proved, elected, called, or *ordained I Adm. 17. according to God's word, but after the old popish order, * [47] and for this cause do confess that they have not a right Prefac. Admon. to the Parl. ministry among them.^a

It was a great fault in Pharaoh, when he had given his consent unto the Israelites, that they should freely depart out of Egypt, and go unto Canaan according to God's appointment, that he should afterward use all the means he could to get them back into their former miserable servitude: I have showed by the Nonconformists' grounds, that our separation from their ministry is with their leave and approbation, and therefore they do not well to seek

^y [Defence of Discipline against Bridges, p. 108.]

^z ["God deliver all Christians out of this antichristian tyranny, . . . and as for the scribes and notaries as greedy as cormorants, if they all should perhaps see this writing, they would be as angry as wasps, and sting like hornets. Three of them would be enough to sting a man to death; for why, they are high commissioners. All this, we say, springeth out of this pontifical, which we must allow by subscription, setting down our hands, that it is not repugnant or against

the word of God, we mean this antichristian hierarchy and popish ordering of ministers, strange from the word of God, and the use of all well reformed churches in the world;" and "they take upon them blasphemously, having neither promise nor commandment to say to their new creatures, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*, as though the Holy Ghost were in their power to give without warrant, at their own pleasure."—*I Adm[onition, &c. D. W. L. copy,] p. 17.]*

^a [I Admon[ition, &c., D. W. L. copy,] Preface.]

our bondage and misery again; the same thing we shall prove, touching their worship, government, and church, in order and place.^b

If therefore they would have us in earnest return unto them, let them first by the scriptures justify the things which they have condemned, I say refute their own books, and build again the things which they have destroyed: and when they have made themselves transgressors, if we be not able by God's word to prove that the things which we refrain from, are every way as evil as they have testified, we will (by his grace) acknowledge our error and return again unto them; in the mean while we shall judge well of our order and manner of walking, and put up our daily petitions unto the Father of our Lord Jesus C[hrist] in behalf of all God's elect yet in Babylon, that they may come out from that unholy state, and do the Lord's work in his own way.

^b ["Nor was Archbishop Whitgift negligent of this dangerous book of the *Holy Discipline*," [presented to Parliament by the Puritans in 1586.] "We find observations made upon it, either by him, or some of his chaplains, as it seems. In which observations one was, that it should not be forgotten, that this their form of discipline was the matter that they talked of, when they writ, '*that if every hair of their heads,*' (it was Cartwright's expression in his book) '*were a several form of their lives, yet they ought to spend them all for the attainment of it.*' This observer writ also, that it was to be observed, that their doctrine was this: '*That if the civil magistrate, after so many petitions made,*' (and not a few petitions they had already made) '*should refuse to erect it, then they might do it*

themselves.' This appeared by a letter written by Payne, one of the party, to Lloyd, another; wherein he said, 'That it was now looked for at their hands,' (naming Travers, Clark, Barber, &c., chief ministers among them,) 'That they should play their parts courageously against the proud prelates, flat enemies, as well to her majesty's soul, as their godly intent. And that they could not be discharged of great disloyalty to Christ, except they proceeded with *practice*: and so furthered the Lord's cause by suffering,' &c. [Likewise from a letter of one Sneedam,] 'That if the magistrates could not be induced to erect the *discipline* by their persuasion, then they ought to erect it themselves, because it was better to obey *God* than *man*,' &c.—*Strype's Life of Whitgift*, p. 264.]

It remains to speak now of their deacon's office, *the which (as the rest before) is wholly condemned of the Nonconformists. For they say, that those ordained deacons in their church, "never purpose in their life to execute any part of a deacon's office, neither are chosen for that end: but only that within a short time after they may be made priests: nothing in the world, differing from the superstition of popery: where the office of a deacon [or minister] was conferred only as a step unto priesthood, as though it were necessary that every one which is ordained an elder should first be deacon, and yet when he is made a deacon, he is but an idol; yea, scarce an idol of a deacon, having no resemblance at all unto a deacon indeed, but that he is a man. This profaning of God's institution, God will not always suffer unpunished, especially when it is not maintained of ignorance or infirmity, but defended against knowledge and upon wilfulness."^c Others of them do affirm the like: that they have thrust upon them a counterfeit and popish deaconship, a mere human institution: foolish and made according to antichrist's canons, without any ground for it out of the scriptures, nothing like the ordinance of God for the relief of the poor.^d And therefore they have desired that it might be utterly abolished and taken away.

That a man from those principles may infer a lawful separation, from all spiritual communion in the ministry of their English deaconship, I think every one (if he understand what a principle is) will freely grant it. But if there be any that believes the former positions to be true, and yet will undertake to prove by God's word that

Note

Dis. Eccl.
Gov. p. 108.
Tab. Div.
Rev. Ca.
Def. Dis.
92. Def.
Godly Mi.
ag. Br. 108.
Adm. l. p.
5, and l. 2.
p. 61.

^c [A Learned] Dis[course of] Eccl[esiastical] Gov[ernment,] p. 108. [D. W. L. copy.]

^d [Def[ence of] Godly Mi[nistry]

ag[ainst Br[idges,] p. 108. I Adm[onition, &c. D. W. L. copy,] p. 5, [and II Admonition, &c. D. W. L. copy,] p. 61.]

* [49]

it may warrantably be joined with, *I shall be willing to read what he can say herein; promising (if I live) either to yield or reply again, according to the worth or weakness, which I shall see to be in the writing for the thing; and because he may not want matter to begin with, I will lay down this argument for him.

If the present deaconry of the church assemblies of England be a mere human institution, and no ordinance of God, but an office taken only of the pope, that Roman antichrist, &c.; then it is not lawful in the worship of God to have any spiritual communion therewith.

But the present deaconry of the church assemblies of England is a mere human institution, and no ordinance of God, but an office taken only of the pope, that Roman antichrist.

Therefore it is not lawful in the worship of God to have any communion therewith.

The proposition is evident and certain, and cannot be denied, for no man can lawfully join in communion with a false ministry, as it hath been formerly proved by scriptures, reasons, and the testimony of the learned. The assumption is wholly taken from their own writings, the which, if they should deny, yet can we justify the same against all men.

It may be some will expect that I should write something of their lecturers, and the rather, because they, in the judgment of many, are thought to be the best ministers. Of their life and doctrine I say nothing, but as for their ministry surely it is new and strange, as King James was wont to say of it. For the original of their name, manner of entrance, and administration is *unknown wholly to the scriptures, and I think never before heard of till in these later broken and confused times.

* [50]

Therefore it is no marvel, when the question hath been propounded to some of them, as it was by the Pharisees to John i. [19.] John, "Who art thou?" that they have not been able for their life to answer the point, neither could agree among themselves what kind of ministry it is that they have taken up; and being hard pressed for resolution, they have ingenuously confessed, that unless they be evangelists, they could not see how their ministry doth accord with any ministry mentioned in the New Testament. This I write upon my own certain knowledge; the persons, I think, are yet living, whose names for some reason I forbear to express. Howbeit I can and will do it, if I see there be a just and necessary occasion.

I do not think it strange that they should thus speak, for indeed I know not what they can say better in defence of their standing. Pastors, I am sure, they will not say they are; for,

[First.] They do not take any particular charge of a flock upon them.

[Secondly.] They perform not the office thereof, for they agree with the people only to preach, and not to administer either the seals or censures to them.

[Thirdly.] Their coming unto the people is in a strange sort, for they make a covenant each with other for some certain years, and when that time is out both parties are free, and so may leave one the other, and do many times. But a true pastor may not do so, for if he should he were * worse than an hireling, which leaves not the sheep till he * [51] see the wolf coming; but many of these [leave their sheep,] John x. 12. when they see a richer lectureship coming toward them.

[Fourthly.] He, that is the parson or vicar, is taken generally for the minister of the place; and truly howsoever their calling be false and antichristian (as the Non-Necess. Disc. conformists say), yet in many respects they do better 71.

resemble a true minister than any lecturer whatsoever; therefore not without just cause do the reformists utterly condemn this extraordinary office of preachers, and affirm that they are neither pastors nor teachers which the scripture alloweth of. And this may be easily proved.

That ministry which is instituted and set up besides those which God hath appointed in his word, is unlawful and false.

But the ministry of the lecturers in England is instituted and set up besides these which God hath appointed in his word.

Therefore that ministry is unlawful and false.

The proposition is plain and undeniable, and we have their own words to confirm it; for thus they say, "All the ministry is by the word of God, and not left to the will of men to devise at their pleasure, as appeareth by that which is noted of John, where the Pharisees coming to him after that he had denied to be either Christ, or Elias, or another prophet, conclude if he be neither Christ, nor Elias, nor of the prophets, why baptizest thou? which had been no good argument if John might have been of some other function than of those which were ordinary in the church, and instituted of God; and therefore John, to establish his singular and extraordinary function, allegeth the word *of God, whereby appeareth, that as it was not lawful to bring in any strange doctrine, so was it not lawful to teach the true doctrine under the name of any other function than was instituted by God. Let the whole practice of the church under the law be looked upon, and it shall not be found that any other ecclesiastical ministry was appointed than those officers of high priest, and priests, and Levites, &c., which were appointed by the law of God; and if there were any raised extraordinarily, the same had their calling confirmed from heaven, either by

* [52]

Mind this
ye lecturers.

signs or miracles, or by plain and clear testimony of the mouth of God, or by extraordinary exciting and movings of the Spirit of God. So that it appeareth, that the ministry of the gospel, and the function thereof, ought to be from heaven and of God, and not invented by the brain of men. From heaven, I say, and heavenly, because although it be executed by earthly men, and the ministers also chosen by men like unto themselves, yet because it is done by the word and institution of God, that hath not only ordained that the word should be preached, but hath ordained also in what order, and by whom it should be preached, it may well be accounted to come from heaven and from God."

T. C. i. i. p.
83.
Eccl. Gov.
p. 7.
Demons.
Disc 7.
Mr. Bat. 102.
Cartw. Chr.
Rel. ch. xvi.
p. 98.

Again, to devise any other ministry than that which God hath appointed, is condemned by the second commandment.

The assumption is thus proved, first, if their lecturers have taken ordination from the bishops, and exercise by that power only, then is their office false by the reasons before laid down. Secondly. If it be objected that they never received the prelates' orders, or have repented thereof, I answer, yet this proves not that they are therefore true ministers; for as Jehu, though *he did well to* [53] suppress Ahab's idolatry, yet in that he followed the ways of Jeroboam, he himself continued still a gross idolater; even so, howsoever some may privately report that they stand ministers by no relation to the bishop, yet are they notwithstanding unlawful ministers, seeing they were never elected, chosen, and ordained according to God's word. If any reply that they have their calling of the people; I answer, the thing is surely otherwise, as shall be manifested presently. But if this were granted, yet I deny that any church under heaven hath power from Christ to ordain such a kind of ministry, and therefore if any people should do it, seeing it is against the scripture,

Demons.
Dis. 13.

it must needs follow that it is an unlawful ministry, and so consequently not to be communicated with; and that it is so I prove it thus.

That ministry is unlawful which none may lawfully give.^e

But none may lawfully bestow the ministry of a lecturer. Therefore that ministry is unlawful.

The proposition is evident by their own principles. The assumption cannot for shame be denied, if the nature of it be considered. For, as we but even now said, their lecturers take no charge of a flock upon them; they make covenant with the people but for a certain time. The peculiar work of a minister is not by the people laid upon them, neither expected of them: if any object that they preach the word; to this Doctor Ames gives an answer fully, that the preaching of the gospel is not a work peculiar to a minister; for such as are private men, and out of office, may and ought to preach *the word as occasion is offered, and not only privately, but (saith he) in the public congregation; and for this thing he citeth these scriptures, I Cor. xiv. 23; Acts xiii. 15;^f and yieldeth many good reasons for it also. Other of the Nonconformists affirm the same thing. "As the church hath need of all men's gifts, so all ought to employ them at public ordinary meetings, yet so as good order be still observed."

De Consc. l.
iv. c. xxv.
p. 215.

* [54]

Mr. Bates,
134.
Def. of Disc.
ag. D. Bridg.
120.

^e [Demons[tration of] Dis[cipline,]
13. [In D. W. L. copy the words are found in an argument against the archbishop: "*That office is unlawful which none may lawfully give*; but none may lawfully bestow the office

of an archbishop, because none can give any new gifts to adorn them withal. Therefore his office is unlawful." p. 11.]

^f [De Consc[ientia, &c.,] by Dr. W. Ames, in B. M. copy, p. 229.]

SECTION IV.

[THE REASONS BROUGHT BY DOCTOR AMES FOR COMMUNING WITH THE CORRUPT AND DEFECTIVE MINISTRY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CONSIDERED AND REFUTED.]

Thus, reader, thou seest how the present ministry of the church assemblies of England, both the greater and lesser, is by the Nonconformists professed and proved to be all and wholly false. Now we come to the [FOURTH] point according to our division, which is to answer the reasons laid down by Dr. Ames, in the defence of their ministry, and they may be cast into two heads or branches.

First. What he speaks for it himself.

[Secondly.] The reference which he hath for help to M. Bradshaw's book, intituled *The Unreasonableness of of Separation*.^g

We will first treat of the Doct[or's] own arguments, or rather argument, for I find but only one touching this thing in his book. The words are these, "We utterly deny that the calling of our ministers doth essentially depend upon the bishops' calling."^h

I know the word *our* here hath in it a mystery, which every body knows not; for D[octo]r A[mes] doubtless meant to speak only for some particular churches, because in his later days he would not undertake to *justify the standing but only of some ministers in the land, which were mostly unconformable. Now it had been well if he had publicly declared so much, and showed the differences between the true and false, and proved soundly by God's

Fresh Suite,
l. ii. p. 207.

* [55]

I have good
testimony
for this
thing.

^g [A copy of "The Unreasonableness of the Separation made Apparent by an Examination of Mr. Johnson's Pretended Reasons, published in 1608," &c., is preserved in D. W. L.

It was printed at Dort in 1614. Printed again, with a professed answer to Canne, 1640. S. C. L.]

^h Fresh Suit, [&c., by Dr. William Ames,] book i. p. 207.]

word, such to be true ministers whom he so judged; for a little of this kind of writing would have profited more the professors in England than a multitude of words, and yet all but one thing, about [two] or [three] foolish ceremonies, and which are the least evils of many hundreds among them. There are others of them to my knowledge in this thing of the D[oc]tor's mind, to wit, that some few ministers only in the land are true, and privately they do express so much. But in the mean time the people are ignorant hereof, and therefore walk disorderly, and so grievously sin against God and their own souls. But of this enough elsewhere. Therefore to the matter.

I wish the D[oc]tor had declared what the essence is of a minister in his judgment, and whence the calling of his ministers doth essentially depend, if not upon the bishops' calling. For then, to use his own words, "this question would easily be decided." But seeing he thought it best in this to be silent, I answer directly,

[First.] The ministry of England, as it is established by law, doth certainly depend upon the bishops' calling wholly, and no man's else; and if any in the land stand otherwise, he cannot properly be said to be a minister of that church, but rather is a schismatic from it, according to the formal constitution of it. And for this we have the testimony of *another Doctor, and a man better experienced than ever Mr. Ames was in the making of English priests and deacons. "If you" (saith he, writing against Mr. Penry),ⁱ "repele the unpreaching minister because of his outward calling, you may by the same reason discharge the worthiest minister in the land of the holy ministry, for all have one and the same external calling in the Church of England."^j This witness is true; all their ministers

* [56]

D. Some's
last Treat.
c. x. p. 123.

ⁱ [Treatise on the Ministry.]

^j [Treatise of the Church, by Dr. Robert Some. D. W. L.]

indeed have one and the same outward calling. I say their best preachers no other than their "ignorant asses and idols" have; the difference between them is only in their qualification for a calling, and in the execution thereof, and not in the outward calling itself. For in this respect, if any ministry be false and antichristian, there is never a ministry then true among them all. And so much D[octo]r Ames seems to acknowledge in p. 410, for there he saith, that "power of ordination is not given (by our laws) to *individua vaga*, that is to say, vagrant men, of whom the law taketh no notice, such as were wont to be called hedge-priests, but to authorized prelates."^k Now if none by their law have power to ordain but b[ishops,] then are his ministers either made officers by them, or else (as I said before) they are not of that church, and so he speaks not any thing to the matter in hand.

Secondly. There is not any congregation in the land that hath any power to ordain a church officer, neither is this either formally (nor, I think, intentionally) any where practised; for the most free parish hath but only a liberty to admit of a minister, before made by the bishops, so that the people give him not any part, * much less the substance * [57] of his calling, as Mr. Paget^l untruly speaketh, but a bare permission only to exercise by virtue of that calling which he had of the prelates; such therefore do horribly abuse the people, which ascribe that unto them which they neither do, can do, nor intend to do. We blame justly the Familists for their idle pretence of inward devotion, they manifesting no outward obedience whereby we should judge well of them; yet truly as bad as they are, this in them can better be justified than Mr. Doct[or Ames'] new principle, to wit, that the calling of their ministers doth

^k [Fresh Suit, &c., p. 410.]

^l [An] Arr[ow] ag[ainst the] Br[ownists,] by Ephraim Paget.]

essentially depend upon the people's calling, for so I know he means; for it is so palpably false, as there cannot be a leaf found to cover the nakedness of it; for, as I said, how can it with any colourable show be affirmed, that the people should do that thing concerning which they neither do, nor intend to do any thing belonging to it, nay more, which they make account is done before, and not only so, but do think (at least most of them) that it doth not at all appertain unto them. Upon this ground a man might devise and say any thing. But I spare to urge it further, because the man is not alive to answer me. If any list to make a rejoinder, he shall hear more in my next answer;

Pro. xxv. 8. but before he go forth hastily to strive, let him first make diligent search among all the parish assemblies in the land, whether there be any that do make their own ministers, according to God's word, that is, choose them by a general and free consent, ordain them by imposition of hands, with fasting and prayer, &c. For about this is our question, and not of their *fitness to be ministers, neither of the leave which the people give to administer among them after they are made ministers by the bishops.

* [58]

Moreover, I think that D[octo]r Ames, in page 412,^m doth contradict himself; his words are these, "If the rejoinder would have brought a fitting example, he should have showed us that Paul or Barnabas, being at Jerusalem, ordained a minister, and sent him to Antioch, Iconium, or Lystra, signifying by letters that such a man was appointed their pastor, though they never knew or heard of him before; for that had been something like unto the practice of a bishop who, upon the patron's presentation, wheresoever he be, sendeth his minister from the place, or palace of his residence, unto a congregation [twenty,] [thirty,] or [forty] miles [off,] which poor despised people must be

^m [Fresh Suit against Corruptness.]

content with tolling of a bell as sufficient notice given of their minister's fitness, and their necessity to acknowledge the same." He speaketh so generally, as I take it, his ministers are here comprehended, and I have good reason so to think in regard of a business which he writes of his experience. "I was," saith he, "once, and never but once, I thank God, before a bishop, and being presented unto him by [the] chief magistrate[s] of an incorporation, for to be a preacher in their town, the lowly man first asked them how they durst choose a preacher without his consent? You (said he) are to receive the preacher that I appoint you; for I am your pastor, though he never fed them. And then, turning to me, how durst you (said he) preach in my diocese without my leave? So that, without any other reason but mere lordship, the whole incorporation and I were dismissed to wait his pleasure, which I, for my *part, have done this twenty year and more." * [59]

By this little the reader may judge whether the calling of their ministers doth essentially depend upon the bishop or people's calling.

[Thirdly.] If it should be granted that the Doctor's ministers have their calling only from the people, yet what is this to the point between him and the rejoinder? I may use his own words, truly "the answer doth not look towards the question." Now mark, all readers that have sense, it is affirmed by Doct[or] Burgess, "whereas the Nonconformists say the calling of their bishops, and consequently of the ministers, is antichristian,^o that separation must hereupon necessarily follow." How is this answered? Not at all, if the proverb be true, "As good never a whit, as never the better." For D[oc]tor Ames speaks of a cer-

ⁿ [Dr. Ames's Fresh Suit, &c., p. 409.] to a Reply to Dr. Morton, &c., [D. W. L. copy, 1631, p. 236.]

^o [Dr. Burgess, An Answer rejoined

tain ministry which the Separatists never to this day yet saw in their assemblies, neither have they left any such. If, therefore, he would have answered the rejoinder's charge indeed, he should have proved that those ministers, whose calling doth essentially depend upon the bishop's calling, which have, I say, no other election nor ordination but what they had from them; in a word, which do administer to the people only by that power and authority, may (notwithstanding for all this) warrantably by scripture be judged true ministers, and be lawfully communicated with in their ministry, and yet the Nonconformists' grounds, published against them, [be] all just, true, and good. This is the very point indeed, for such ministers we have only left, and we know no other. If there be, let them be manifested to *us; tell us their names, their places, and if we find by scripture their ministry to be lawful, we will surely have communion with it, as occasion serves. Till then we purpose, by God's grace, to live as we do, and to practise that which the Nonconformists profess to be the order and way in which the Lord commands all his servants to walk in.

* [00]

Defen. Ad-
mon.

[Fourthly.] If the Doctor speak here truth, then have the Nonconformists greatly abused the princes and state of England, in complaining so often to them against the bishops, and for what, think you? Forsooth, because the prelates take away the power of the people, make ministers alone; hence none are either proved, called, or ordained according to God's word, &c. Now how do these things agree together? Is not this yea and nay? It is so indeed. But imagine there should be a parliament again in England, and the Nonconformists should there petition that the calling of their ministers might not essentially depend any more upon the b[ishop's] calling, would not the b[ishops] have matter to persuade both houses not to hearken unto

them, yea to reprove them sharply for moving this thing, seeing they confess they have it already? But it may be they would say, some congregations do not ordain their ministers: to this the prelates might reply, that is then their fault, for they give liberty and power to all alike, and that is none at all. I am sorry they have laid such a snare, whereby to undo themselves. But usually this is their course, when they have any hope to have the magistrates' help for reformation, they will truly declare the *abuses and corruptions among them to the full; after- * [61] wards (nothing being amended), when they are put in mind of their principles, that is, if such things be true, then necessarily must they leave the Church of England; what do they but go quite from them again, as I shall in convenient place prove it clearly? And is not that a miserable case which cannot be maintained but by gross contradiction? I may well here use the Doctor's own words, "Such turning, winding, and running against walls you shall seldom see an ingenuous man to use in a good case."^p Fresh Suit, l. ii. p. 132.

Lastly. Howsoever Doct[or] Ames thought to have crossed much the course of the Separatists, yet if his words be understandingly weighed, he hath justified them, and made way to a general departure from their ministry. For thus I reason:

None may hear or have any spiritual communion with such a ministry whose calling doth essentially depend upon the bishop's calling.

But the calling of the ministers of the church assemblies of England doth essentially depend upon the b[ishop's] calling.

Therefore none may hear or have any spiritual communion with the ministry of the church assemblies of England.

^p [Fresh Suit, &c., by Dr. William Ames, book ii. p. 132.]

Neces. Re-
for. 51.

* [62]

Zep. i. 12.
Pro. xiv. 15.

The proposition by good consequence is the D[octor's] own, and herein he agrees with the rest of the Nonconformists; for in opinion they all hold this thing, as we have from their writings manifested. And whosoever should deny the assumption, might with as much reason deny that there is any idolatry at Rome, although it is there both taught and practised; therefore I think no man * will have the forehead to oppose it. But have not now the people of the land good cause to look about them, seeing those who count themselves the only men to refute the Separatists, are come to that strait as that they will not justify it to be lawful for to join to any ministry in the land, but to that which a man should not find among them, if he sought [searched] all their churches with candles, as the prophet speaketh. I hope God's elect yet there will take Solomon's counsel, which is, to look well to their going.

And thus much for answer to the Doct[or's] reason. Now next we should speak of Mr. Bradshaw's book, but because I have been long upon this chapter, and the reply to it will be large, I will leave it therefore till last, and handle other things in the meantime.

SECT[ION] V.

[OBJECTIONS TO THE FOREGOING CONCLUSION EXPLAINED
AND ANSWERED.]

Before I end this point I think it convenient to answer briefly to a few objections, which I have often heard some to make in the defence of their standing.

Object[ion the first.] Compassion towards the people con-

straineth many preachers to keep their places, for if they should not, alas, what would the people do?

Ans[wer the first.] We may not do any thing against the will and pleasure of God, under pretence to show mercy to others; but we are bound to do that which is good and honest, by just and lawful means. That pity which Christians are to show, must be *ευσπλαγχνος*, *rightly bowelled*, that is required of God, both for the matter and manner of it.

**[Answer the second.]* God needs no man's lie, for he hath * [63] power enough to accomplish his own purposes. He may thus say, "If I be hungry I would not tell thee," that is, Psa. i. [12.] what need I thee, or any thing thou canst do? I am all-sufficient.⁹

[Answer the third.] The truth is, the people are not holpen by this means, but rather hindered; for if they ceased from preaching in their unlawful offices, the godly generally throughout the land would seek where Christ feedeth his flock, and so their state would be much better than now it is.^r

Object[ion the second.] Though they will not plead to justify their ministry, yet they hope to glorify God by preaching.

Ans[wer.] So thought the leper, when he published abroad "the matter of his healing," but he not being called Mar. i. [45.] to do it, sinned greatly therein; therefore it is certain that men do then glorify God, when (leaving their own wisdom) John xv. 8.

⁹ ["A minister, not being rightly called by the congregation, is no minister."—*Millayn's Sermon at St. Mary's*, reprinted in *Strype's Whitgift*, Appendix, p. 16.]

^r [Millayn avouched these conclusions: "I. That the ordering and making of ministers now used in the

Church of England, is an horrible confusion, and contrary to the word of God. II. That ignorant ministers are no ministers."—*Sermon at St. Mary's*, for which he was expelled the University of Cambridge in 1573. *Strype's Whitgift*, p. 48.]

First vol. p.
699.
1 Sam. ii. 30.

they do whatsoever they are commanded, for as M. Perkins saith,^s “the intention to honour God is not good, unless it be an intention to honour him by yielding that obedience which he commandeth.” Now seeing these refuse to keep strictly his order and ordinances, they take not the right course to honour him, and, in this respect, can have little assurance to receive glory and honour of him. Therefore it is better a man never preach than do any evil in preaching.

Rom. iii.

Object[ion the third.] But they hope to do much good by staying in their places.

Ans[wer the first.] The least sin may not be committed if one were sure the whole world might be saved thereby.

[*Answer the second.*] It is a great dishonour to God to do any sin to a good end, as though he could not provide
[64] *for men’s souls without sinning against him and serving the devil.

[*Answer the third.*] Although we invent a thousand ways, yet we have no reason to think that we shall profit others, but only by those means and instruments which he hath appointed for his work, for with those his blessing is joined; but if we pass the bounds set by God himself, and institute of our own head, means and instruments to do good by, not only may we fear the want of his blessing, but the fearful expectation both of temporal and eternal judgments.

Object[ion the fourth.] But the people do much desire that they would retain their office.

Ans[wer the first.] Be it so, yet seeing God commands them to leave it, they ought to obey him rather than men. If one had borne arms awhile against his prince, yet should he do well to lay them down, though his father, mother,

* [Perkins’s, Wm., Works,] vol. i. p. 699. [In part 2nd of The Idolatry of the Last Times.]

and a thousand more, should counsel him to the contrary. I leave the application of it to others. It was worthily answered by Gideon, when the kingdom, with the alteration of the government which God had set over his people, was presented unto him, "I will not rule over you," &c. Judg. viii. 23. The Lord shall rule over you, to wit, according to such order as he hath appointed. Such a holy answer should they give the people. We will not stand over you by an antichristian authority, but exhort you to forsake the false ways of the world, and to make a covenant with God, that so Christ Jesus may reign as King, Priest, and Prophet over you.

[*Answer the second.*] Let it be considered that "every Gal. vi. [5.] one shall bear his own burden." Though Adam *took* [65] the woman's counsel, and she the devil's, to sin against God, yet they both in their own persons carried the just punishment thereof.

[*Answer the third.*] The people understand not so generally the unlawfulness of their ministry as the others do, for if they did, I think they would as much persuade them, yea more, to leave it by repentance, than they ever urged them to retain the same.

Object[ion the fifth.] Many of them have good gifts, great learning, and [are] able to preach the word profitably : therefore in this respect they may be true ministers.

[*Answer the first.*] Be a man never so godly, never so learned, endued with never so many lively faculties of the ministry, yet he is no minister indeed, unless he have the ordinance of God upon him, by a true outward calling. He which understands well the office of a justice, and could sufficiently execute the place, yet is he not a lawful justice of peace, except he be rightly called thereunto ? even so, &c.^t Heb. v. 4.

^t [With the Christian ministry.]

M. Dayr.
Pref. Treat.
of the Ch.

[*Answer the second.*] If gifts only make men ministers then many of the popish priests are true pastors. For they (as the Nonconformists acknowledge) have great learning and gifts, very great knowledge and skill in the arts, and in languages: are of excellent utterance, expert and ready in holy scriptures; can speak and write truly agreeing with the scriptures, of sundry of the secrets of the kingdom of heaven: as of God, his nature, persons, attributes, of Christ Jesus, his incarnation, his birth, life, preachings, sufferings, coming to judgment, of the resurrection, of the life to come, with many other of this kind.^u The like may be said of many lawyers, physicians, &c. These by the former reason are ministers also.

* [66]

[**Objection the sixth.*] Many are converted by their doctrine, therefore it seems they are true ministers.

Lev. iv. 27,
28; xix. 17;
xxvi. v. [15.]
Mal. iii. 16.
Mat. xviii.
15.
1 Cor. xiv.
24, 25.

[*Answer the first.*] Men in no office may, and often do, turn their neighbours from much evil. If this be not so, to what purpose should private persons exhort, instruct, and reprove, any upon any occasion whatsoever?

Is. liii. 1.
2 Kings
xvii. 13, 14.

[*Answer the second.*] Good prophets have seen little fruit to follow their labour: therefore if this had argued a true note of their calling, they might have been judged false.

[*Answer the third.*] If fruit be a sign of a true minister, then are many of the bishops in England, and Rome too, true ministers; for, without doubt, some of both have been instruments under God of men's conversion.

[*Answer the fourth.*] It hath been the manner always, of wise and learned men, to esteem of things by the causes, and not by the event, and that specially in matters

^u [Dayr[ell in] Pref[ace to a] Treat[ise] of the Ch[urch], &c.] The words are found on pp. 4 and 5, of

the Epistle to the Separatists, which precedes that work.]

of religion: for if they should be esteemed of the event, who would not commend the midwives lying unto Pharaoh, for much good followed amongst the Israelites: but what if the Lord give his blessing unto his word, is it to be thought therefore, that he liketh well of a false calling? nothing less, but rather a man might reason thus: for as much as those which preach in an unlawful office, do sometime edify their hearers: surely then such would do much more good, if they stood in a right and true calling.

[*Answer the fifth.*] To convert is not the most proper work of a pastor; but to feed Christ's sheep, with sound and wholesome doctrine: and therefore if it should come to pass, that he never converted any, yet his ministry nevertheless would still be true and lawful.

* *Object[ion the seventh.]* Many worthy men did never * [6] leave their ministry in England, and yet died comfortably.

[*Answer the first.*] Without doubt they never saw fully the unlawfulness of it.

[*Answer the second.*] Men must do as they are further enlightened and guided by the Spirit of God, who from step to step leads his people.

[*Answer the third.*] Many of the fathers under the law had many wives at once, the which thing if any now should practise he could not expect the mercy which they obtained, because they did it ignorantly.

[*Answer the fourth.*] No man's example must be further followed than the same agrees with the scripture, for where David, Peter, &c., do differ from the truth, therein we ought to differ from them.

[*Answer the fifth.*] Had they duly considered the conclusions of their own grounds, laid down against the abuses of their church, I am persuaded they would have changed their course.

Object[ion the eighth.] But many have their gifts tried by some godly ministers, and so have their consent and allowance: and this gives them (they think) the true substance of a true calling.

[Answer the first.] These must consider, that it is against rule, to make that which is in question the ground of the thing in dispute. For we do deny that those here intimated are true ministers, and therefore their consent and allowance is nothing to make the thing warrantable.

[Answer the second.] If they were ministers, yet is their official power confined within the freedom of their own church, and so have no authority delegated to them from Christ, to give the substance of the ministers calling * to another people; for, to do thus, were to be like unto the pope and prelates, the which practice in them they do abhor.

[Answer the third.] It is a fearful mocking of God, and a high profanation of his ordinance, when men will take a holy work in hand, and pretend they do it, and yet do nothing touching the true substance thereof.

A man which hath but a little path to keep, and a great sea lying on both sides of him, would surely be drowned, if he should turn out of his way but a little, either to the one hand or other; the like may be said of God's paths and institutions: if a man keep not full in the way, do not every thing according to the pattern. It is all one, whether turning on the left hand, he embrace the idolatry of the bishops, or turning on the other hand, [he] follow the new devices of men's foolish brains, for utter destruction certainly follows them both.

Now for conclusion, if these lines, by God's providence, shall come to any of your hands, which stand at this present ministers in the church of England: my desire truly is, that you will be pleased ingenuously to consider

* [66]

the things here written, and specially how the Nonconformists (such as you cannot but much reverence and love for their learning and graces) have by invincible reasons and arguments proved clearly your offices to be false, unlawful, and antichristian. Now if you cannot justify your standing before men, ah, how do ye think that ye shall be able to stand comfortably before the holy God, if you stand longer therein. The Lord give you eyes to see how exceedingly you *have broken the sacred order of the gospel, and hearts tender against every sin, that the evil may be put away. And think not scorn (I pray you) to take any fruitful counsel of me; but hearken to the Lord that it may go well with you. And look; as the men which had married them wives of the heathen, did put them quite away at Nehemiah's command: even so, seeing you have taken upon you a strange ministry, put it away at God's command, and do not continue one hour in it. If you say, what shall we do for the hundred talents? how shall we, our wives and children be relieved, if we leave our benefices, our stipends, friends, and benefactors? I answer you as the man of God did Amasiah, the Lord is able to give you more than this. Christ saith (as you know well) he that will forsake father and mother, house and land, for his name sake, shall receive a hundred-fold in this world, beside the possession of life and glory hereafter. Truly there is a great reward in this promise, and methinks you should value it to be much more worth than all the parsonages, vicarages, lecture-profits, &c., in England. Mind well therefore (good friends) what a large offer the Lord makes, to buy you out of your unsanctified places, whereas he might cast you forth headlong, and inflict upon you many visible and sensible punishments, as he did on Corah, Uzziah, Uzzah, &c., for their usurpation and intrusion.

* [60]

2 Chro.
xxv. 9.

But he offers you a hundred-fold profit, which is a great matter indeed, and therefore ye are altogether unwise if ye do refuse it.

I may say to you as David to the men of Judah: Why
 * [70] *are ye the last to bring home the king? Surely ye are too slow in helping forward Christ to his kingdom. You do indeed complain, that the office of Christ, as he is king, is no wise acknowledged under the jurisdiction of your bishops in many places of the land. But are not you in part the cause thereof, in walking hand in hand with the rebellious prelates, to support that devised ministry, which they have received from the pope, and do thrust upon the people? Think therefore, oh what a blow it would give to antichrist's kingdom, and how it would even shake and overthrow the very foundation of his house: if such as you would break the bonds of iniquity, and draw your necks out from the bishop's yoke, and bring your learning and other good gifts (as the people did the Lord's vessels, which had been a long time kept in Babylon) to the building and beautifying of Sion: this would make your faces to shine, and make your names to flourish in all ages after, as those do in our generation, which according to that light received, did pour out their vials upon the seat of the beast, to the great discovering of his lies and beastly vanities. Ye know that some, who were sometime chief among you, have laid down their ministry as unlawful; for it being a dependent office of the hierarchy, they found it by scripture unwarrantably
 Ans. Banc. Ser. p. 17. to be used for the edifying of the body of Christ.
 Ephe. iv. 12.

If you have these for an example, you shall do well; otherwise, if either for ease, profit, credit, liberty, or other worldly respects, you retain still this livery of
 * [71] antichrist and pope's creature, you will lose that *honour and reward which the other (if they make straight paths

for their feet) shall undoubtedly obtain: notwithstanding as Mordecai said to Esther, enlargement and deliverance shall arise to the Jews from another place. For God surely will fulfil his word, in abolishing utterly that great scarlet whore, and all the accursed offices and ministries, which she hath devised in spite of all human policy and power to the contrary, and establish one day his own ordinances more largely and perfectly, to the singular joy and comfort of all true believers, both Jews and Gentiles.^v

Esther iv.
14

Moreover, let it be considered, whether those ministers, which have taken orders and offices of the prelates, and stand by their power and authority, are not in this transgressors against the king and the laws; yea, and might be legally executed for treason and felony if the king and state were not pleased to interpret the statute, contrary to the very letter, form, and truth of the same.

The words of the statute (Eliz. 27, 2,) are these:—
“It shall not be lawful for any seminary priest, or other priest, or ecclesiastical person whatsoever, made, or ordained without or within any of her majesty’s dominions,

^v [The personal bearing of this great question reveals, more than any other of its features, the immeasurable importance with which it is practically invested. Built upon apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner stone, the church is to form an habitation for God in the Spirit. In this community, therefore, by this Spirit, God designs to dwell, revealing the actings of his attributes, for his glory, before the children of men. It is through this body, this community of believers in Christ, distinguished by their faith in him, and both constituted and governed by his authority, that the Holy

Spirit will give his intimations of the Divine will, and his exertions of the Divine power. Through this body of recognized believers the Holy Spirit is to choose and appoint the ministry of mercy to a guilty world. A body of unbelievers, dishonouring the Christ of God by unbelief, has no right to expect the Spirit, and no power to appoint a Christian ministry. The assumption of such a power, by a king, a bishop, or a parliament, or by a convocation of unbelievers, calling itself a church, whether baptized or unbaptized, is, neither more nor less, than a gospelized treason against the Lord and his Anointed.]

by any authority derived, challenged, or pretended from the see of Rome, by or of what name, title, or degree soever the same shall be called, or known, to be or remain in any part of her highness's dominions. And every person so offending shall be judged a traitor, and shall suffer as in case of high treason. And every person which shall wittingly and willingly receive, relieve, comfort, aid, or maintain any *such priest or ecclesiastical person, shall be judged a felon without benefit of clergy, and suffer death, loss, and forfeit, as in case of felony.

* [72]

CHAPTER II.

[A NECESSITY FOR SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
PROVED BY THE ACKNOWLEDGED AND FATAL CORRUPTION OF
ITS WORSHIP.]

[INTRODUCTION.]

IN this chapter we will speak of the outward worship used in the assemblies of England, the sum whereof (as the Nonconformists say) is contained in their communion book, and hence the same is called divine service, (as for preaching, it is held to be no part thereof) we will follow here the same method.

M. Bates.
203.
Hows. Ser.
in Psal.
cxviii. p. 18.
Can. xix.
Sion Pl.
326.

And *first*, I will show what a true divine worship is, according to their own description of it.

[*Secondly*.] How far that in the church of England, by their own confession, differs from and is contrary to it.

[*Thirdly*, I will] lay down arguments to prove our separation lawful by the former grounds.

[And *fourthly*.] Answer Dr. Ames's reasons alleged to the contrary.

SECTION I.

[STATEMENTS AND ADMISSIONS OF NONCONFORMIST WRITERS,
RESPECTING THE NATURE OF A TRUE DIVINE WORSHIP.]

It is certain that the Lord hath given a perfect platform and absolute rule how he will be worshipped, in the time of the New Testament;^w [and] an excellent direction for us, how we may acceptably perform the same unto him, is laid down in John iv. 23, 24. Two things are there mentioned, spirit and truth.

First, It must be a true matter of worship grounded on the word, it must be no devised worship. For "nothing may go under the name of the worship of God, which he hath not ordained in his own word, and commanded to us as his own worship."^x All the parts and means thereof, must be done *according to his revealed will: even as the " [73] service which is given to an earthly prince by his attendants at court, must be only according to the king's commandment: so the outward solemn worship to be performed unto the King of kings ought to be that only, which he alone is the author and institutor of. As for rules given by men not grounded on the scripture, in case of religion, matters of faith, &c., they are not of any moment, neither are we bound to the observation of them. For the truth is, whosoever "useth those ways and inventions in worshipping God which are not commanded of

M. Bat. 19.
Fresh Suit
l. i. p. 210.
M. Dike
Six Evang.
Hist. p. 306.
M. Perk.
Idol. Las. in
last. vol.
p. 698.
M. Brins.
True Watch
p. 28.

Rom. xii. 1.
Cart. Hist.
Christ l. i.
p. 211.
Elton upon
Coloss. p.
308.

^w ["Christ is the only teacher of his church, and appointer of all means whereby it should be taught and admonished of any holy duty, and all Christ's doctrine, with the means thereof, is perfectly contained in the

holy scriptures."—*Dr. Ames's Fresh Suit*, Part ii. p. 210. D. W. L.]

^x [M[r. [Wm. Perk[ins's Works, vol. i. fol. ed. 1635 or 1612, p. 698.]

Rev. xxii.
18.

Note.

Rom. viii. 7.

¹ Yet so is
it where L.
Bb. rule,
as it is in
Rome and
England.
* [74]

M. Dod
upon Com-
man. 2.

God in his word, but be devices of men, Christ saith that they worship him in vain, &c. If it have no further beginning than man's brain, God will give no blessing to it: yea, he sends a curse upon it; for cursed is he that adds any thing to the word of God: God will add so much to his plagues, and the reason is, because he makes himself wiser or better than God. For if God be perfectly wise, then he knew best what worship would please himself; and if he be perfectly good, then he would reveal unto us whatever he knew fit for us to practise. Again, it is a great injury offered to God, when we will let his deadly enemies, [even our carnal reason, and corrupt affections,] have the ordering and appointing of his service rather than himself. A king would think it a great indignity that his servants should not yield to his directions, but" [to] "some base person that were a professed enemy," [who] "should set down what service he must have, and in what manner he must be obeyed, who shall be his attendants, and what his provision. But much more absurd and injurious it is, that we will let the wit and will of the flesh¹ bear sway in God's worship: for these two do join with *the devil, and are enmity to God. And if we will have this pre-eminence in our houses, that our servants must do as we bid them, not what they themselves think good (for he is a good servant that doth his master's will, not his own) then why should not we think it right, that God must be Lord in his house, and we must do his service after his appointment, and not our own?"^y

And not only do they teach these wholesome and good doctrines, but also do lay down sundry effectual reasons to

^y [Exposition of the Ten Commandments, by John Dod and Richard Cleaver, &c.; nineteenth edition, London, 1635, p. 70, C. S. L.]

[Dr. Ames's Fresh Suit, &c. Part ii. p. 209. "The first proof of our proposition was taken from the second commandment.]

prove that men may not worship God otherwise than he hath appointed and revealed in his word.

[First.] Because we can have no true comfort in our devotions so long as they be but limbs of that which Paul terms voluntary religion; so long as they are only taken up by us, and not prescribed to us, make we never so great a show of zeal in the performance of them, yet it is nothing.

[Secondly.] All worship devised by man is abhorred by the Lord, for he likes nothing but what he appointeth himself.

[Thirdly.] It is against his express commandment that men should bring any of their own devising near his ordinances, because he will have no more done in his worship than he teacheth and commandeth in his word; therefore whatsoever is added [in the church, without his warrant,] that we are to esteem to be an image which he detesteth and abhorreth.²

[Fourthly.] Because whatsoever God would have us either to know, or do, he hath fully revealed it by Christ.

[Fifthly.] It is the property of superstitious and idolatrous things to infect the places and persons where they are.

* [Robert Parker was, in 1571, rector of North Binfleet, in Essex. In 1572 he became rector of West Hemmingfield. He afterwards became pastor of the church at Dedham. Suspended, and otherwise persecuted, for refusing subscription to Whitgift's three articles, he left the county of Essex, and accepted a benefice at Wilton, in Wiltshire. In 1598 he answered Bishop Bilson on the supposed descent of our Lord into hell; and in 1607 published his treatise entitled "*A Scholastic Discourse against Symbolizing with Antichrist*

in Ceremonies, especially the Sign of the Cross." Fol. pt. i. p. 196, pt. ii. p. 144. This is designated by Canne, *Park. of the Cross*. The words are, "If this be the meaning (our church intendeth not in making the cross to make an image), then we reply, Our church intendeth in crossing, that which is proper to that image, which this" [second] "commandment doth forbid." "What is added in the church" [of God] "without his warrant, that esteem to be an image which he detesteth and abhorreth." l. i. p. 62.] [*Sion's Pl[ea]*, p. 279.]

M. Hern.
upon Psa. li.
p. 4.
M. Bates 18,
212.
Deu. xvi. 21.
Chap. iv. 34.

Park. of the
Cross, l. i.
p. 62.
Colos. ii. 10,
243.
Exod. xx.
24, 25.
Isa. 205, 257.
Sion's Pl.
279.

[Sixthly.] It argues certainly that men do not love the Lord and his commandments, but hate rather both, when they * worship God otherwise than he commandeth; for although every will-worshipper will say that he loveth God, yet God witnesseth in the second commandment that he is a liar, and that he hateth God, in that he hateth the worship which he commandeth, in the love whereof God will have experience of his love.

Cart. Chr.
Relig. cha.
xvi. p. 103.

[Seventhly.] The Lord will bless the true worshippers of him unto many generations, both in themselves, their children and posterity, and in whatsoever belongs unto them.

M. Dike
Six Evan.
Histor. p.
312.
D. Tayl.
upon Tit. iii.
10, pag. 7,
15.

[Eighthly.] We must learn to proportion our worship to God's nature, which is simple. In that which is simple there is no composition or division, therefore in our worship there must be no composition; it must be void of mixture; a linsey-woolsey patch-worship, sauced, spiced, sophisticated with human inventions, doth nothing sort with the spiritual simplicity of the divine essence.

Exhort. to
the Kirk of
Edinb. pag.
10.

First vol.
Idol. Last
Times, p.
674, 675.
Aug. de.
Consen. aa.
Evang. l. i.
18.

[Ninthly.] God promiseth his presence only in his own worship, and therefore neither accepteth nor blesseth a worship that is not directed by his own word. For conclusion: worthily speaketh M. Perkins, "The second way of erecting an idol is, when God is worshipped otherwise, and by other means, than he hath revealed in the word. For when men set up a devised worship, they set up also a devised God."^a Augustine saith of the Gentiles, that they refused to worship the God of the Hebrews "because if their pleasures were to worship him in another sort than he had appointed, they should not indeed worship him, but that which they had feigned."^b The Samaritans wor-

^a [Vol. i. [Perkins's, Wm., Works.]
Idol[atry of the] Last Times, p. 674,
675. [Ed. fol. 1635, or 1612.]

^b [Aug[ustine] de Consen[su]
Evang[elistarum,] lib. i. p. 18. [Pro-
inde istis summa necessitas facta est

shipped the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and they waited for the coming of the *Messiah, and yet Christ* ^[76] saith of them, "Ye worship ye know not what," because ^{Joh. iv. 22.} they worshipped the true God by a worship devised of old, and set up by men. The Lord saith to the Israelites, "Ye shall call me no more Baali;" whereby he signifieth ^{Hos. ii. 16, with Deut. xii. 4.} that because the Jews did sometime worship God in the same manner, with the same images, rites, and names whereby the heathen worshipped the false god Baal, therefore they made him indeed to be even as the idol Baal, &c. Again: John saith in his first epistle, chap. ii. ver. 24, "If that which ye have heard from the beginning remain in you, ye shall continue in the Father and the Son." Hence it follows, that those which abide not in the doctrine of the prophets and apostles, but set up other forms of worshipping God, abide not in the Son and the Father. God's worship must be, according to his nature, heavenly, divine, and spiritual; but all devised worship is according to the nature and disposition of the deviser, foolish, carnal, vain, &c. Therefore when God is worshipped not according to his own will, but according to the will and pleasure of man, the true God is not worshipped, but a god of men's invention is set up. Thus he.

Secondly. There must be a true manner of worship; which is to proceed from the very heart-root, and to be performed with the will, the affections, and all that is within us; for this gives life and well-being to divine ^{Psa. ciii. 1.} service; as a well-proportioned body, if it want breath, offends us, and we desire to have it taken out of our sight, for the noisome smell which it maketh in our nostrils. Even so every worship (how outwardly glorious and formal ^{Isa. i. [11-15.]}

non colendi Deum Hebræorum, quia si alio modo eum colere vellent, quam se colendum ipse dixisset, non utique	illum colerent, sed quod ipsi finxissent."— <i>Works by Fræben</i> , vol. iv. col. 381, ed. 1569.]
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* [77] soever) void of uprightness, *displeaseth the Lord greatly, and he bids such hypocrites to carry the same away out of his presence, because it is noisome and abominable unto him. Let every man, therefore, look to this main thing, to wit, that he worship God in the truth and sincerity of the inward man, for in this only God taketh delight, and without this main qualification he cannot abide either the person or action. It is a thing common with men, when they take a piece of work to do for another, and expect to have a good reward for their labour, to be careful so to do it as the master for whom they do it may have good content therein; the like should be our care whensoever we take in hand any service of God, and hope to be recompensed, to perform the same in that sort as the Lord may be pleased to accept graciously of it in Jesus Christ.

Psa. li. 8[—
10.]

Mr. Dike,
Six Evang.
Hist. 311,
312, &c.
Mr. Hern.
in Psa. li.
157, &c.

Luke xii.

In all this we do fully agree with the Nonconformists, and are persuaded that no man can rightly believe that his service is well pleasing unto God, unless it be performed, both for matter and manner, as they have before truly expressed; and therefore to our power we are careful always thus to do, and so much the more because herein we know our Master's will, and have promised to do it; so that, if we neglect it, both our trespass and punishment will be the greater.

SECTION II.

[STATEMENTS AND CONCESSIONS OF NONCONFORMISTS RESPECTING KNOWN CORRUPTIONS IN THE WORSHIP OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.]

In the former section we have heard what a true worship is; now it follows that we describe the *worship of

* [78]

the English assemblies, according to the testimony given thereof by the Nonconformists.

This worship (for the matter of it) is contained wholly (as was said) in their church liturgy, in the handling whereof, for the reader's better information, I will first show what they say of the whole book, and afterwards of the particular parts and pieces thereof.

[FIRST.^c] Touching the former they [the Nonconform-
ists] write thus: "The whole form of the church service is borrowed from the Papists, pieced and patched together without reason or order of edification; yea, not only is the form of it taken from the church of antichrist, but surely the matter also; for none can deny but it was "culled and picked out of that popish dunghill, the portasse and vile mass-book, full of all abominations."^d From three Romish channels, I say, was it raked together, namely the breviary, out of which the common prayers are taken; out of the ritual, or book of rites, the administration of the sacraments, burial, matrimony, visitation of the sick are taken; and out of the mass-book are the consecration of the Lord's supper, collects, gospels, and epistles. And for this cause it is that the papists like well of the English mass (for so King James used to call it), and makes them say, "Surely the Romish is the true and right religion, else the heretics in England would never have received so much of it." "For some have avouched it to my face (saith the author of the Curtain of Church Power) that the service there is nothing but the mass in English; others, that it wants nothing but the pope's consecration."^e

Sold. Bar.
T. C. l. i. p.
131.
Abridg. 89.
Adm. i. p. 9.
and
II Ad. 41.
Fall of Bab.
29.
Altar. Da-
mas. p. 612,
613.
Sion's Pl. 29.
Perth As-
semb. 64.
Sion's Pl. 30.

P. 40.

^c [The numeral answering to this will be found in section iv. p. 99.]

^d [I Adm[onition, &c., D. W. L. copy, pp.] 9 & 2.] [II Ad[moni-
tion, &c., D. W. L. copy, p.] 41.]

^e ["You build much of King Edward's time. A very learned man as any in this realm, I think you cannot reprove him, writeth these words, 'I will pass to speak of King Henry's

These things thus retained, it was also thought, that popish kings and princes would be the less offended; what
 * [79] *marvel, seeing the Jesuits themselves are so well pleased with the ceremonies and service, that I heard one of them (God is my witness herein) make it his hope that the maintenance of them against the Puritans would make England the sooner return to Rome in the rest. Mine eyes and ears (saith Bishop Hall) can witness with what approof and applause divers of the Catholics royal (as they are termed) entertained the new translated liturgy of our church; which is the less wonder, seeing Pope Pius the [Fourth,] sending Vincentio Parpatia, abbot of S. Saviour's, to Queen Elizabeth, offered to confirm the English liturgy by his authority, if she would yield to him in some other things. Indeed it pleased them so well, that for the first eleven years of Queen Elizabeth, Papists came to the English churches and service, as the Lord Coke showeth. Others of them affirm the same thing, namely, their church service pleaseth marvellous well the Romish beast, and his ungodly followers. Witness the pacification of the Devonshire Papists, in the time of Edward the [Sixth,] when as they understood it was no other but the very mass-book put into English. Witness also the assertion of D. Carver, a dangerous seducing Papist. The Common Prayer Book (saith he), and the catechism contained in it, hold no point of doctrine expressly contrary to antiquity, that is, (as he explains himself), the Romish service, only hath not enough in it; and for the doctrine of predestination,

Quo Vadis
Sect. 4.

Cambden in
An. 1560.
Fresh Suit,
l. i. 203.

L. Coke,
De Jure Ro-
gis Ecclesi-
astico, fol.
34.
Sion Pl.
90, 91.

Consider.
pag. 45.
Sec. 8, 9.

time, but come to King Edward's time, which was the best time of reformation; all was driven to a prescript order of service, pieced and patched out of popish portasse, of matins, mass, and even-songs; so that when the minister had done his service, he

thought his duty done; to be short, there might no discipline be brought into the church."—*Examination of John Smith and others, "Londoners," before the Lord Mayor and the Bishop of London, 1567. In "Part of a Register," p. 34. D. W. L. copy.]*

sacraments, grace, free-will, and sin, &c., the new catechism and sermons of the Puritan preachers run wholly in these against the Common Prayer and *catechism therein contained, &c. And thereupon he comforteth himself upon the hope of supply of the rest. To this effect speaketh Bristow and Harding. If these things be right, why not the rest? It shall not be amiss to mark one occurrence in Q. Elizabeth's time, who being interdicted by the pope's bull, Secretary Walsingham tried a trick of state policy to reverse the same. He caused two of the pope's intelligencers, at the pope's appointment, to be brought (as it were in secret) into England, to whom he appointed a guide (being a state intelligencer) who should show them, in Canterbury and London, service solemnly sung and said, with all their pomp and procession, which order the popish intelligencers seeing, and so much admiring, they wondered that their master would be so unadvised as to interdict a prince or state whose service and ceremonies so symbolized with his own. So, returning to the pope, they showed him his oversight, affirming that they saw no service, ceremonies, or church orders in England, but they might very well have been performed in Rome, whereupon the bull was presently called in.

Moreover, such is the unholiness of this idol book, as the Nonconformists generally have refused to subscribe unto it, affirming it to be such a piece of work as it is strange any will use it, there being in it most vile and unallowable things.^f And for this cause they have besought the peers of the realm, that it might be utterly removed; and many reasons they have given, in several treatises, to prove their condemnation of it just and lawful.

[*First.*] Because it is an infectious liturgy, Romish stuff, a devised service, and in it are many religions mixed

^f [11 Admon[ition, &c., D. W. L. copy, p.] 56. 1 Admo[nition, &c.,] p. 3.]

* [80]

Mot. Pref.
to the Ans.

II Admon.
p. 56.
Def. Ad. p.
4.
1 Admo. p.
3.

Sion Pl.
342, 318, 314.
M. Gilby, p.
29.

* [81.]

II Admon.

57.

I Adm. 3.

* together, of Christ and antichrist, of God and the devil, besides a book full of fancies, and a great many things contrary to God's word; and prayers which are false, foolish, superstitious, and stark naught, &c.^s

[*Secondly.*] They cannot account it praying, as they use it commonly, "but only reading or saying of prayers, even as a child that learneth to read; if his lesson be a prayer, he readeth a prayer, and doth not pray; even so it is commonly a saying and reading prayers, and not praying."^h

I Ad. p. 14.

[*Thirdly.*] "In all the order of it there is no edification, but confusion."ⁱ

Alt. Dam.
178.

[*Fourthly.*] We read not of any such liturgy in the Christian church in the days of the apostles, nor in many ages following, till blindness, ignorance, and laziness occasioned a prescript form, to be made for idle and dumb priests.

Against
Bridg. 43.
Curt. Ch.
Pow. 42, 45.Learned Dis.
Eccl. Gover.
68.
Mart. Sen.
p. 2.
Practice of
Princ.
Addit.

[*Fifthly.*] If this were not, many would make more profession of love to preaching and hearing God's word, but by this means it is neglected and despised, for worldlings, usurers, drunkards, whoremongers, and other earthly and profane people, away with nothing so well as English mass; and why, but because it doth not sharply reprove them of their sins, nor disclose the secret of their hearts, but that they may continue in all kinds of voluptuousness, and all other kinds of wickedness; and therefore rightly is it called their *starve-us book*.^j

[*Sixthly.*] God hath nowhere appointed that the church should be tied to read the Book of Common Prayer for his worship, and therefore to do it is an high transgression

^s [II Admo[nition, &c., D. W. L. copy, p. 57. I Adm[onition, &c., D. W. L. copy,] p. 3.]

^h II Ad[monition, &c., D. W. L. copy, p.] 56.]

ⁱ [I Ad[monition, &c., D. W. L.

copy,] p. 14.]

^j [Learned Dis[course of] Eccl[e-siastical] Gover[nment,] p. 68.] [Mart[in] Sen[ior, in the Martin Mar-prelate Tracts.] The *Starve-us Book* is a pun upon the Service Book.]

before him, as great as the sin of Nadab and Abihu, and such are liable unto the like or greater punishment.

[*Seventhly.*] If this were praying, and there were never an ill word nor sentence in all the *prayers, yet to appoint * [82] it to be used, or to use it as Papists did their matins and evening song, for a set service to God, though the words be good, the use is naught. The words of the first chapter in John be good, but to be put into a tablet of gold, for a ^{II Admon. 55.} sovereign thing to be worn, the use is superstitious and naught, and so is the use of this service.^k

Sundry other arguments of this nature are used of them, to prove their service-book a false, idolatrous, and unlawful worship, the which I purposely omit, because enough already hath been said about it. Yet there is one thing, which I think good here to note, namely, a comparison, which they make between the papists and prelates, in forcing the practice of this foolish stuff: well fare the papists (say they) for they shall rise up in judgment against you, (it is meant of the hierarchy) who like good fellows, yet in plain and open terms, even bare-faced, as it were, do seek to reduce us, and to draw us to their false and idolatrous worship and service in popery, as namely by their mass, matins, even-song, purification, and other such like; whereas you, most dangerously, and even under a mask or vizard, as it were, and not unlike to him that transformeth himself unto an angel of light, do go about to draw and allure us to the self-same worship and service, but by cleaner names and honester titles, &c. Mark (I pray thee) reader what they speak here, touching their likeness and unlikeness with the papists: for their worship and service, it is (they confess) the self-same false worship used in popery; the difference stands in

Questions
concerning
Churching
of Women,
p. 11, 12.

Note.

* [II Admon[ition, &c., D. W. L. copy, p.] 55.]

• [83]

their bishops beguiling of the people; for they *do lay more cunning snares and baits than the other, to have their idolatry submitted unto; as for an instance, the papists call their trash, mass, &c.; the other call it divine service, &c. And why have they left out the first title? but because they think few people would come to it, if it did carry still the old name of the beast upon the forehead of it.

Nothing have the Nonconformists here said against that idolatrous book, but we also do assent wholly thereto. Indeed, in practice, we agree not; for they will be present where the same is used, whether they think it lawful so to do I know not, but this I know, that by their grounds laid down against it, every true believer is necessarily bound to separate from it, and not upon any occasion to join in communion therewith; and this I will prove,

[*First.*] By precepts. [*Secondly.*] Examples. [*Thirdly.*] By reasons. [*Fourthly.*] By the testimonies of the learned. Of all which we will treat in order in the section following.

SECTION III.

[THE LAWFULNESS OF SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND PROVED BY ARGUMENTS BASED ON THE FOREGOING STATEMENT OF CORRUPTIONS, WHICH ARE KNOWN TO EXIST IN ITS WORSHIP.]

[*FIRST.*] The Lord in scripture hath laid it as a straight charge upon all the faithful, to separate themselves from idolaters, and to be as unlike to them as may be, specially in their religious observations and ceremonies. The second commandment proves this effectually, for there is abso-

lutely forbidden all participation in any feigned service, whether it be to the true God or any other.¹

When Jeroboam had set up a false worship, we read *that the good prophets of that time and after, called * [84] the godly Israelites away from it, and bid them in plain terms not to join therewith; but, on the contrary, to keep God's commandments and statutes, appointed for his service, without adding any thing to them, or taking any thing from them. And this they must do, although the king had confirmed his new religion by act of parliament or counsel, and therefore no doubt would persecute most grievously all the refusers thereof. The great whore (much spoken of in the Revelation,) hath devised an unclean service to worship the true God by; but what counsel gives the Holy Ghost to the elect concerning it? very profitable, even in these words, "come out of her my people," Rev. xviii. 4, that is, forsake her detestable religion, communicate in none of her vile and odious devices, what colourable reasons soever her unblessed followers make in defence thereof.

Out of which is the English Service-book taken, as the Non-conform. say. See Job xiv. 4. Mat. vii. 18. Jam. iii. 11. See Mr. Bale on the place, Isa. lii. 11.

Again, [SECONDLY.] As this is a duty, so the faithful in all ages have practised it, a memorable example whereof we have in 2 Chron. xi. 14, 16. There it is said that the priests and Levites, and after them of all the tribes of Israel, such as set their hearts to seek the Lord, &c., came to Jerusalem to sacrifice; the like practice we read of in Hezekiah's time, divers of Asher, and Manasseh, and of Zebulun, humbled themselves and came to Jerusalem. All will confess, these were good separatists, and they did lawfully forsake the body, whereof they stood formerly members; notwithstanding, if we take a strict

2 Chro. xxx. 11.

¹ Abridg[ment of that book which the] min[isters of] Linc[oln diocese delivered to his majesty upon the first of December last; printed 1605,] p. 22. [In D. W. L. copy, from p. 17 —27.]

* [85]

view and inquiry of that ministry, worship, and government, which *they left at Dan and Bethel, it will appear evidently that the same was not more false, idolatrous, and unlawful, than the present ministry, worship, and government, of the English assemblies is by the Nonconformists affirmed to be; and because none may think that I speak more than can be proved, I will therefore here lay down an apology or pretext, which an idolatrous Israelite might frame in the defence of the king's religion, taken out of their own writings, and if D. Ames's phrase be tolerable I will pawn my head,^m that there is never a Nonconformist this day in the world (let him keep to their grounds) that is able to give more pretty reasons, and colourable shows, to justify the religion of the church of England: for thus they write:—

Fresh Suit,
l. 2. p. 80.

Course of
Conformity,
p. 161.

“When the priests and Levites, according to their duty, resisted the novation, as liking better of their better warranted old profession: both they, and some of all the tribes of Israel following the voice of God in their mouths, were hardly entreated, whereupon there arose a great schism: the men of Judah and some of Israel, objected that they had forsaken God; but the most part of Israel judged them to be renders of the unity of the kirk, rebels against the king, who was advanced by the Lord beside all expectation, [and] was their lawful prince, peaceably disposed, contenting himself with his own kingdom, providing for the good estate of his own people, and using all means

^m [“Those that are devoted to the ceremonies may shuffle up and down, first to *order*, and when they are beaten thence, to *decency*, and from decency, when they can defend that no longer, to *edification*; . . . but all will not help. Let them pitch or insist upon one of these grounds, without

starting, *I will pawn my head*, their anchor will come home to them again, as finding no fast ground, either in *order*, or *decency*, or *edification*, for double significant ceremonies (such as ours) to ride at.”]—*Fresh Suit* [by Dr. Ames,] l. ii. p. 80.]

that they follow not other gods ; and esteemed them to be superstitious precisians in standing out against so gracious a king, commanding nothing against any article of faith, against any fundamental point of salvation, detesting the gods of the nations, and all kinds of *idolatry. The matters he urged were but circumstantial, ritual, and variable, and such as the best kings, having the Lord's approbation, had changed before. They could say that the worship was the same in substance, that they served the same God who brought them out of Egypt, with the sacrifices and observation of all the statutes kept by all the fathers since the beginning of the world. That their bullocks, which precisians called idols, were similitudes representing the only sacrifice of the Messiah, in whom they looked for salvation. Were there not cherubims in the tabernacle and temple, and twelve oxen or bulls of brass appointed by the wisest king? The Lord forbiddeth such images only as have divine worship done unto them ; like the calf in the wilderness, turning the glory of God into the similitude of a bullock that eateth grass. But they could say, that they worshipped not these calves more than the images of the cherubims. Are we so gross when we say, Behold our gods, as to think that they brought us out of Egypt? We speak figuratively, as the ark was called the King of glory, and the holy Lord God. We will rather give our lives, lands, liberty and all, than commit idolatry for the pleasure of any prince ; and do abhor the abuse of images, which is to bow down and serve them ; albeit we be not of that mind, but we may have them and worship God by them ; because we know no place of scripture to the contrary. The place of worship is but a circumstance, and to tie God's presence to any place, who is near in all times and places to them that call upon him, is superstition. The ark was not ever

* [86]

* [87]

in one place, but often removed. In Solomon's own time there were two public places of God's worship, and Solomon * sacrificed in them both. Is not the whole land holy? The promise made to Solomon of a special presence at Jerusalem, was tied to the condition of keeping his statutes and judgments, wherein he hath failed; and therefore, as his throne is thrown down, which the Lord at the same time promised to establish, so hath the place lost the privilege of holiness. We may plead from antiquity: for here is Bethel, so famous for that glorious testimony of his presence given to Jacob, from whom we this day have the name of Israel. Rehoboam is no wiser than his father, he may fall into his idolatry, and so Israel by resorting to Jerusalem may be snared. All danger of idolatry would be prevented, the poor people eased of their tedious journeys, and both prince and people saved from Rehoboam's conspiracy. All this din and division proceedeth of the humours of some contentious and avaricious Levites, seducing the simple people, making them to think that God cannot be served but in Jerusalem, after their fashion in every circumstance and particular ceremony: and of the doting of some persons of the weakest wit and sex, delighting to go abroad, to be talked of for zeal, and more pleased with any worship than that which they have at home. The observation of the feast of tabernacles upon the [fifteenth] day of the [eighth] month, is but the change of a circumstance of time. The day was made for man, and not man for the day. It was lawful by God's own warrant to keep the passover on the [fourteenth] day of the second month; he careth not for the month so the day be kept. It is presumption to alter things substantial in matters of faith or doctrine: but superstition to stand upon circumstances and variable ceremonies. What can be done, the Lord's worship cannot

* be neglected ; if the priests of Levi make it nice, * [88] will still prove contentious, and lead a faction with them for strengthening the kingdom of Judah, upon warrant of antiquity, before the distinction of Levi was made for order's sake, others of other tribes, as well qualified as themselves, must be put in their places, and they put away, as Abiathar was by Solomon, because he had his hand with Adonijah. It may be when they see their places well filled, and the charity of profuse people, which cannot last long, to decay, that their giddiness will go away, and they return to their right wits. The prophet that came to the king when his hand dried up, might have been a witch coming with lying wonders, for he was slain by a lion : and howsoever he threatened destruction, he condescended upon no time, lest he should have been convinced of a lie. Ahijah dealt not with the king in meekness and sincerity as became a prophet ; but by his bitterness and passion declared that he was partially inclined to Judah. Ahijah died not before his day. All things come alike to the godly and to the wicked, to him that sacrificeth and him that sacrificeth not. Or if his death was untimous, it was rather for his secret intentions crossing his father's courses, than for any good that was in him towards the God of Israel, as the prophet would have it."

In Elias's time there were seven thousand in Israel which bowed not unto Baal ; that is, [who] refused to join in that unholy worship, which was done unto him. I might here instance Daniel's forbearance of the king's meats because they were defiled by idolatry.

1 King xix.
18.

11 King
xviii. 4.
Exod. xx. 5.
Joh. ii. 16.
Psa. cxix.
[10.]

THIRDLY. The reasons are these :—

[First.] It sheweth that the love and zeal of God is much in us, when our care *is to worship only in his own * [89] ordinances, and to leave the contrary.

Mal. i. [7—
14.] *[Secondly.]* Men offer a blind and lame sacrifice when they communicate spiritually in a devised service. Who would be so foolish [as] to carry trash and dung for a present unto a mighty prince, and hope to receive a favour of him? What is a false worship but very dung and trash? yea, worse too; and therefore not acceptable to God.

Rom. xii. 1,
2.

[Thirdly.] So long as men are will-worshippers, it argues they are unregenerate and wicked, and have not repented of their sins; for one infallible evidence of true conversion is to see the filthiness of idolatry, and to cast away the same with reproach and disgrace, and to go from it as far as it is possible.

Isa. xxx. 22.

Rev. iii. 4.

[Fourthly.] To communicate in a false worship causeth pollution to the soul. If we would avoid that which would make the body to be full of scabs and boils, and so to be loathsome to men, much more should we detest this great wickedness, which causeth spiritual botches and sores to the soul, and so is odious before God.

Eze. xx. 5
[—8.]
Deu. vii. 25,
26.

[Fifthly.] By this means God's holy name is profaned.

[Sixthly.] Christ [is] not suffered to reign as King over the whole man, but rejected.

See Pareus
in Am. 4, 2
[—6.]
Levit. x. 1,
2.
Zep. i. 4, 5.

[Seventhly.] Such service is done to the devil.

[Eighthly.] The Lord hateth unspeakably all devised worship.

Rev. xviii.
4.
Lev. xviii. 3,
& ix. 7.
Col. ii. 10.

[Ninthly.] Wrath and vengeance, without repentance, will be inflicted upon all the doers thereof. For society in sin brings fellowship in punishment.

II King xxi.
4, 7.
II Cor. vi.
16, 17.

[Tenthly.] In a word, let God's purity and holiness be considered, and his charge given unto us, to be unlike idolaters when we perform public service unto him.

And, last of all, if we join to no false worship, but
* [90] *serve God, according to his revealed will, then is Christ

obeyed as our King and Lord, the reward whereof will be glory and immortal happiness.^a Rev. xiv. 4.

[FOURTHLY.] In this we have the consent of learned men generally. Calvin saith, we are bound to separate from all superstitions, which are contrary as well to the service of God as to the honour of his Son. And a little after, Let us hold this rule, that all the inventions of men, which are set up to corrupt the simple purity of the word, and to overthrow the service which God demandeth and alloweth, they are very sacrileges, wherewith a Christian man may not communicate without blaspheming of God; that is to say, without treading his honour under foot.

Pareus to the same purpose saith, that all kinds, occasions, and instruments of idolatrous service, must be avoided as a most abominable and hurtful plague, with the mind and body. Bullinger, upon the Revelation, sharply reproves those which will be present at false worship, and saith that every one's duty is to fly from the same as far as it is possible. We must forsake (saith Musculus) the society of all unlawful and superstitious services, and join ourselves with those that walk directly in the true religion of Christ. The like speaketh Piscator,¹ Artopeus,² Bucer,³ Pomeranus,⁴ Erasmus,⁵ Cyprian,⁶ Hieron,⁷ Augustine,⁸ Pelican,⁹ and Rivetus.¹⁰ To this the Papists assent also; for, speaking of false services shifted into their churches, instead of God's true and only worship, they say, that all catholic men, if they look to have any fellowship with

Sermon
upon Ps.
xvi. 4.

In 1 Cor. x.
14.
Chap. xviii.
4.
Dial. of
Serving the
Time.

¹ In 1 Cor. x.
x. 21.
² In Apo.
xviii. 14.
³ In Matt.
xviii. fol.
143.
⁴ In Censura,
cap. ix. fol.
471.
⁵ In Psal.
xvi. 4, p. 79,
80.
⁶ Paraph. in
1 Cor. x. 14.
⁷ De Unit.
Ec. Nu. 2.
⁸ In Hos. xi.
and Am. viii.
⁹ De Civit.
Dei, l. xviii.
c. li.
¹⁰ In Levit.
xviii. 3, 4.
¹¹ In Hos.
iv. 15, p. 156,
and vers. 17,
p. 158. Rhe.
Text. in 1
Cor. x. 21.

^a [These reasons, with the passages subjoined in support of them, are so essential to the author's argument, that they have been supplied in the Appendix E.]

^o ["Those persons contaminate themselves with idolatry who merely attend its ceremonies, and thus declare

themselves to be the associates of idolaters."

"He who is a partaker with a false religion cannot at the same time be partaker of the true."—*Piscator, Logical Analysis of Paul's Epistles*, ed. 1608.]

* [91]

Christ and his members in his body and blood, &c., * must abstain from them, &c. And, among other reasons, they give these, viz., because Christ will acquit himself of all such as join in communion therewith.

But I need not to spend time, to seek abroad for witnesses, for the Nonconformists do grant the thing. We may not (say they) have any religious communion, or partake in divine worship, with idolaters in their false idolatrous worship ("no, not in body be present at idolatrous service"^p); but we must abstain from all participation of idolatry, yea, from all show thereof, heathen or antichristian, and must separate and come out from among them.^q The like speaketh D. Fulke, Brinsley, Perkins, Cartwright, &c., and the author of the Postscript to Mr. Perkins's Exposition upon Jude, renders this as a reason of it, not to abstain from communicating with them in their idolatrous services, &c.,^r were no other but to expose and lay ourselves open and naked to all manner of danger of infection of our souls, defection from our God, and in the end of all destruction, both of body and soul. Now from the last two sections we may frame this argument.

Darrell.
Treat.
Ch. xvii.
Trial Sub-
script, p. 6.
Mr. Gilby,
Preface.
Refutat.
Rast. 720,
upon 2 Com.
Idolat. Last
Time, 690.
T. C. l. i. p.
131.

^p [Trial [of] Subscrip[tion], p. 6. [The reference which precedes this in the margin must be to Dayrell's, not *Darrell's*, Treatise of the Church. The words at p. 17 are, "This is the Holy Spirit, and therefore having it, it will sanctify thee, and make thee holy. If thou hast this Spirit, it will lead thee into the truth, and preserve thee from error," &c. "If *our church be a false church*, then we acknowledge their separation to be lawful." — *Ibid.*, Preface, p. 3.]

^q [Again, it is utterly unlawful to join with idolaters in their exercises of religion. Saint Paul exhorts the Corinthians in this manner, *Flee idol-*

atry; that is, all feasts and meetings that tend to maintain the honour of idols. And he urged his exhortations by sundry reasons. First, because "they which are partakers in one and the same divine service, have fellowship with Him whose service it is." Secondly, because "they who are partakers of things offered to idols, have fellowship with devils." Thirdly, "they who are partakers of the Lord's table, may not be partakers of the tables of devils." — *Perkins's, Wm., Works*, fol. vol. i. p. 690.

^r [Perkins's, *Wm., Works*, on Jude, vol. iii. fol. 1618, p. 598, 599.]

If the worship of the English service-book hath no warrant in God's word, but is a devised, false, and idolatrous worship, then is it unlawful to be communicated with.

But the worship of the English service-book hath no warrant in God's word, but is a devised, false, and idolatrous worship.

Therefore is the worship of the English service-book unlawful to be communicated with.^a Sion's Pl. 85.

I need not here take D[octo]r Laiton's compass, to fetch the bishops' major and the Separatists' minor, to make up an entire syllogism of separation; *for both parts of this * [92] argument are the Nonconformists', and I think they will stand to the justification thereof, if not against us, yet against the prelates, if occasion serve. But if any part be questioned, I know it will be the assumption, and therefore in the next section I will further prove the same by more of their own testimonies.

SECTION IV.

[THE FOREGOING ARGUMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS CONFIRMED BY CORRUPTIONS WHICH NONCONFORMISTS HAVE EXPOSED IN THE SERVICE-BOOK AND CEREMONIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.]

[SECONDLY.^c] Howsoever, by the grounds of the Nonconformists, laid down in the second section,^u separation must necessarily follow from all communion with them in the worship of their church service-book; yet to have the point more fully proved, I will here show that every

^a Sion's Plea, p. 85. [U. L. C. copy.]

^c [The number precedent to this is on page 85.]

^u [Section II. p. 77, original pagination.]

particular part thereof is affirmed of themselves to be idolatrous, false, antichristian. Touching the book we may consider two things.

First. The distinct services thereof.

[*Secondly.*] The ceremonies used in and about the same.

We will speak *first* of their ceremonies, that is, of the surplice, cross, and kneeling in the act of receiving the Lord's supper.

Against these many treatises have been purposely written. I will here only observe some of their speeches, referring the reader to their books, if he desire more satisfaction. Of all these ceremonies thus they say:¹ They were inspired by Satan, invented by man, commanded first to be practised by the beast and his bishops; therefore they are idols of Rome, *Babylonish rites, °part of the scarlet woman,^v her inventions, ^w3popish fooleries, accursed remnants, and leaves of the blasphemous popish priesthood, known liveries of antichrist.⁴ God never planted them, nor his Spirit inspired them; the holy apostles never taught nor practised them, all sincere professors are offended with them, and detest them. ⁵The defenders of these carnal and beggarly rites are tyrannous proud prelates, Romish champions and apostates, covetous chancellors, dignified chaplains, alias choplivings, ambitious pluralists, simoniacal patrons, alias latrons, and the ap-

¹ Anatomy of Cerem. Made by M. Sprint before Def. of Pet. to the King.
* [93]
Park. Cr.
1. i. 28.
² Alt. Da. 189.
³ Trial Subscrip. p. 7.
⁴ Gilby, p. 5, 14, 17, 40.

⁵ Anatomy of Ce. Fr. Suit. 1. ii. 275.
Anat. Cer.

^v [Park[er on the] Cr[oss], 1. i. p. 28.]

^w ["Wherefore come out of *Babylon* (that is, the confusion, or confused worship and government of *Rome*), and touch no unclean thing. The ground of this conclusion is a persuasion that the ceremonies which they stumble at, be not only the inventions of men, but part also of the scarlet woman, her fornications: yea,

notwithstanding they were in use before antichrist was exalted. And therefore such ceremonies are by them (in their zeal) judged to be more fitting the whore of Babylon than becoming the chaste spouse of Christ, who should be conformable to her husband in simplicity and severity." *Trial of Subscription*, pp. 7 & 8. D. W. L. copy, 1599.]

provers of them they say are impious atheists, scandalous non-residents, dumb homilists, prowling registrars, proctors, paritors, &c., and all other profane livers and wicked haters of God. Moreover we find many unanswerable arguments used in their writings to prove this trash to be against the word of God, exceedingly idolatrous, and so ought not to have any place in religious worship. To instance a few.

[*Argument the first.*]

All addition to God's worship is directly forbidden in God's word, both in the Old and New Testament. Deu. xii. 32; Rev. xxii. 18.

But these ceremonies are an addition, in God's worship, to the word; as they do not deny.

Ergo, they are directly forbidden by the word.

[*Argument the second.*]

All spiritual communion with those idolaters, amongst whom we live, in the mysteries of their idolatry and superstition, is sin.

[But] to use those ceremonies in divine worship is a spiritual communion with idolatrous Papists, in the mystery of their idolatry and superstition.

Ergo, to use those ceremonies is to sin.*

[*Argument the third.*]

To mingle profane things with divine is to sin.

[But] to use these ceremonies in divine worship is to mingle profane *things with divine.

Ergo, to use these ceremonies in divine worship is to sin.†

Another [author^z reasons] thus.

[*Argument the fourth.*]

All things in the church ought to edify.

* [Sion[']s Pl[ea, &c., by Dr. Laiton, U. L. C. copy, p. 319.]

† [Bradsh[aw's, Mr. William,] Twelve Several Arguments Proving the Ceremonies Unlawful.] Ar[gu-

ment the Sixth. Editor's copy.]

* [A Pleasant Dialogue between a Sold[ier of] Bar[wick and an English Chaplain. B. L. O.]

Sion Pl. 3.
19.

Mr. Bradsh.
12.
Arg. 6, 7.
* [94]

[But] these things do not edify.
Therefore they ought not to be in the church.

[*Argument the fifth.*]

Offences and superstitions ought to be avoided.

Sold. Bar.

[But] these rites offend, and are superstitious.
Therefore they ought to be avoided.

[*Argument the sixth.*]

No idolatrous remnants nor monuments must be retained.

[But] these are idolatrous monuments and remnants.
Therefore they may not be retained.

[*Argument the seventh.*]

Nothing may be thrust into the church contrary [to],
or besides the scriptures.

[But] these are contrary [to] and besides the scriptures.
Therefore they may not be thrust into the church.

I could name many others of this kind, but here is
enough to show the reason why the Nonconformists say
that these ceremonies are not to be received, though all
the princes in the world do command them, no good Chris-
tian must yield any way to them,^a but rather avoid them,
more than the ceremonies of the Turks, and think no
otherwise of them than of the devil himself.^b

Ans. to the
Exam. p. 32.
Offer for
Confer. p.
17.
T. C. Rest.
of Second
Rep. 173.
Park. Cross.
lib. i. p. 38.

¹ Admo i.
17.

² Sold. Bar.

³ Necess.

Disp. 70.

Proposit.

about

Kneel. 3

⁴ Park.

Cross, l. 1 9.

id. 187, 71.

Thus much for their ceremonies in general; now a few
words of them in particular, and so to another point. The
surplice is called of them¹ the pope's creature,^c ²a lousy rag,
popish apparel, the whore of Babylon's smock, ³a filthy
idol,^d character of antichrist and the devil, one of the
pedlary wares of popery, and⁴ the cast apparel of the harlot

^a [A Christian, &c.,] Offer for Con-
ference, p. 17. [D. W. L. copy.]

^b ["The cross and surplice being
idols of theirs, are no other to be
thought of than we think of the devil
himself."—*Park[er on the] Cross*,

lib. i. p. 38. [See p. 74.]

^c I Admo[nition to the Parliament,
D. W. L. copy.] p. 17.]

^d [Necess[ity of] Dis[cipline,] 70,
[127—132.]

of Rome,^c "devised by Pope Adrian"^f in the year 796, who borrowed it, as they think, of certain Egyptian monks, who, upon the skins which they used to wear for their apparel, did wear linen garments, from whence the name of surplice seemeth to come.

* Sundry reasons they give to have this trash abolished. • [95]

[First.] Because it serves not for comeliness and gravity, but rather it is ridiculous and stage-like; meeter for fools and comedians than for ministers.^g

[Secondly.] It hardens the hearts of the papists, and causeth them to be stiff in their popery.^h

[Thirdly. It] hinders the weak from profiting in the knowledge of the gospel.

[Fourthly.] It is a massing garment, and therefore as undecent for the holy spouse of Christ as harlots' weeds are for a grave matron.ⁱ

[Fifthly.] Christ and his apostles, and the fathers in the better times of the church, made no distinction in apparel.

[Sixthly.] The gray amice, and other popish garments defiled with superstition, can make as good plea for themselves as the surplice can.

I will end this in the words of the *Admonition to the Parliament*. "Copes, caps, surplices, tippets, and such like baggage, serve not to edification, but they cause discord,

^c ["Our [opponents] will not deny that it is a thing unseemly for the church (the spouse of Christ) to attire herself with the cast apparel of the harlot of Rome,"—*Park[er on the Cross]*, l. i. p. 9, 71.]

^f [I Adm[onition] to the Parliament, D. W. L. copy,] p. 4.]

^g ["This is a stage-like, [theatrical,] and ridiculous dress, distinguishing the person by signs which produce not any ornament or utility." "For

Beza saith, what if the ministers should be compelled to wear the clothing of jesters and comedians? Would it not manifestly be a mockery of the ecclesiastical employment?"—*Allare Damascenum*, pp. 655, 656, ed. 1708. In Canne's ed. p. 216.]

^h [Def[ence of] Pet[ition] for Reformation, 46.]

ⁱ [Par[ker on the] Cr[oss], 17, 8, [? 178.]

I Admon. 4.
Neces. Dis.
69.

Alt. Dam.
216.
T. C. l. i. 73.
Def. Pet. for
Ref. 46.
Par. Cr. 17,
8.

Def. Pet. for
Re. 46.

I Adm. 18. they hinder the preaching of the gospel, they keep the memory of Egypt still among us, they bring the ministry into contempt, they offend the weak, they encourage the obstinate, therefore can no authority by the word of God, with any pretence of order and obedience, command them nor make them in any wise tolerable ; but by circumstances they are wicked, and against the word of God.”^j

The sign of the cross, which they use in baptism, they say is the mark of the beast,^k ¹a juggler’s gesture, ²a magical instrument, ³a rite and badge of the devil, a harlot^l which stirreth up to popish lust. “If a maypole should be brought into the church, for children to dance about and climb upon, in sign of their desire to seek things above, if a stiff straw were put in the child’s hand for a *sign of fighting against spiritual enemies, as with a spear, there would be no more folly in those than in the cross.”^m

Again, to prove that no such thing should be used in baptism, they give these reasons.

[First.] Because the word of God is wholly against it.

[Secondly.] The cross is made there a very idol.

[Thirdly.] It is to depart from the plain institution of our Saviour Christ.

^j [I Adm[onition, &c., p.] 18. D. W. L. copy.]

^k [Sion’s Pl[ea,] p. 102.]

^l [Park[er on the] Cross, l. i. p. 155, 7, 170.] [“He that intendeth to run through a river, intendeth *implicitly* to dirt and wet his feet; he that intendeth to touch pitch, doth intend *implicitly* to defile his hands. She that intendeth to come into the company of him that is in love with her (necessary business only excepted), doth intend *implicitly* to stir up love or lust. So in case we

intend to use the cross, we must *implicitly* intend of necessity to dirt and defile, and stir up popish lust. Is not the cross an harlot?” &c.—*Ibid.*] l. ii. p. 56.]

^m [“When the Anabaptists in Helvetia opposed human ceremonies as unlawful, they were by public authority, and with common consent, abolished; and the very Anabaptists were thanked for that opposition.”—*Fresh Suit*, [by Dr. Ames, part i. pp. 17, 18, 19.]

Remove of
Imputations
from the
Minist. of
Devonsh. &
Cornw. pag.
106.
Defenc. Pet.
for Refor. p.
29.

[Fourthly.] It hath been idolatrously abused in popery, and hath no necessary use now.

[Fifthly.] It encroacheth upon the very substance of the sacrament.

[Sixthly.] It is but a late device, hatched by the pope.

[Seventhly.] It is not a ceremony pertaining to the decency of a sacrament.

[Eighthly.] It is scandalous and offensive to good Christians.

Lastly. As much may be said for putting salt in the mouth of the child, anointing with oil the breast and shoulders, and the top of the head with holy chrism, and to put a burning taper in his hand, &c.,^a and for the whole wainload of such toys, and as the proctors of the cross can say for it.^o

Alt. Dam
206.
Park. of the
Cr. l. ii. p.
129.

Hence it is that the strictest Inconformists affirm, that it is utterly unlawful for parents to bring their children to be crossed, and they give many reasons.

[First.] Men may do nothing to their children but what

^a [Altare Damascenum, pp. 610—627, ed. 1708. Canne's ed. 206.]

^o ["Within two hundred years after Christ there were crept into the church many idle ceremonies, and the simplicity of Christ's ordinance was refused. Each man, as he had either credit or authority, presumed of himself to add somewhat to Christ's institution; and the flesh, delighting in her own devices, delivered the same with as strait a charge as if Christ himself had taken order for it. There began the exsufflation of the baptized, looking towards the west into the devil's face; the consecration of the font with oil and [the] cross; the oil in baptism, without which none was thought to be well baptized; the reserving of the

bread in the sacrament, and the eating of it at home in private; the exorcism, the offering, and the praying for the dead; fasting on certain days, with opinion of necessity and satisfaction; the bishop's throne, through the pride of Samosatanus, and the seeds of monkery through the example of Paulus Thœbeus." [If] "(then)" [we consider] "amongst what weeds the cross grew up, and in what a dunged soil of many superstitions, we shall admire the less to see him in Rabbanus' days waited upon with salt, spittle, tapers, and divers such like, of which the surplice is one."—*Park[er] of the Cr[oss]*, l. ii. p. 129, 128.]

themselves would have done to themselves, if they were to be baptized. Now what good heart could endure this idolatry?

[Secondly.] It is a special dishonour to the Lord, which men should avoid, both of themselves, and in and by others.

Mr. Bates,
260.

[Thirdly.] This, as all human inventions, hinders from the child, when it is wittingly done by the parents, the * power of baptism as much as is possible.

* [97]

Disput.
upon Com-
mun. at
Confus.
Comm. 31.
Sion's Pl. 70.
Disp. up.
73, 70.

Touching kneeling in the act of receiving, they say it is idolatry, a spawn of the beast, a diabolical gesture, a superstition which profaneth Christ's true religion, and makes the sacrament of the Lord's supper to become an idol feast. There are many treatises extant at this day against this evil practice; now among other arguments, laid down by the Nonconformists to prove it an unlawful gesture,^p I will briefly here repeat eight of them.

Abridg. 70.
Perth As-
semb. 35.

[First.] Kneeling in the act of receiving the bread and wine in the Lord's supper, is a ceremony altogether inexpedient to be used.^q

[Secondly.] It takes away that commendable gesture, used by Christ and his apostles in and after the constitution.

Idem. 46.

[Thirdly.] The second commandment of the law is hereby broken, and idolatry divers ways committed.

Mr. Bat.
216.

[Fourthly.] This robs the Lord of that due worship, which he ought to receive from every one.

Abridg. 71.

[Fifthly.] There is no direction in the whole scripture, either by precept or commanded example, for receiving any sacraments kneeling,^r whereas for receiving with other gestures, there is both.

Per. As-
sem. 54.

[Sixthly.] This is to conform grossly with the papists,

^p [Sion's Plea, p. 70. U. L. C. copy; printed 1574.]

^q [Abridg[ment,] 70. In D. W. L. copy, pp. 55, 69.]

^r [Abridg[ment,] p. 71, [or p. 56, in the D. W. L. copy.]

even in an act wherein the life and soul, as it were, of their idolatry standeth.

[Seventhly.] The primitive churches for sundry hundred years after the apostles, never used to receive the sacrament kneeling, till Pope Honorius afterwards decreed it.⁹

Abridg. 73.
I Adm. 4.

Lastly. This gesture of kneeling holds no proportion with the chief end and use of this sacrament, nor with that inward disposition of heart, which is then required of us.^t

Abridg. 77.

And thus much for their surplice, cross, and kneeling,
*from all which this argument may be framed.

* [98]

That worship, in which a man cannot possibly communicate without sin, he is bound necessarily to separate from.

But [in] that worship, in which these idols are made and used (viz.) the surplice, cross, and kneeling, a man cannot possibly communicate without sin.

Therefore from that worship, wherein these idols, (viz. the surplice, cross, and kneeling) are made and used, a man is bound necessarily to separate.

The proposition is certain, and by [Doctor] Ames in his cases of conscience acknowledged.^u Although (saith he) we may join to that church, in which many defects are to be tolerated, yet not to that in which we cannot but necessarily partake with sin. The assumption is assented unto, by as judicious and zealous Nonconf[ormists] as ever held that cause, and they have brought good proofs for it.

Lib. iv. cap. 24.

Park. Cr. 1. i. 20, 21.

First. Because men must fly from idols and idolathites,^v

⁹ [Abridg[ment,] p. 73, [or p. 53, in D. W. L. copy.]

[I Adm[onition, &c., D. W. L. copy,] p. 4.]

^t [Abridg[ment,] p. 77, [or p. 60, in D. W. L. copy.]

^u Lib. iv. cap. 24, [or at p. 226 of De Conscientia, &c. B. M. copy.]

^v ["We are guilty of participation in defect through omission, because we come short of that zeal against this idolothite of Rome, which is enjoined

I Cor. x. 14. but when they come to worship God, after the order of the congregation where these things are practised, they do not fly from them, but draw near unto them.

Mr. Bat.
258.

[Secondly.] Their bare presence argues their approbation and yielding in show to ceremonies.

[Thirdly.] Though the personal sins of the minister do not hurt the people, yet his ministerial and public sins do hurt, which he performs from the people of God, and so their joining with him is unlawful.

[Fourthly.] What example can be brought, where the holy men of God have communicated with such things?

P. 68.

* [99]

The author of the dispute upon communicating at their confused communions, affirms confidently, that the sinner is accessory to the sin of the kneeler, and he gives *many reasons for it, whereof we shall have a fit occasion hereafter to speak.

And now let the reader consider, if both parts of the former reason be true, as the Nonconformists say: whether this one principle of theirs, will not justify a separation from most of their parish meetings. For surely I think, not one minister in the land of [five hundred,] but maketh and useth ordinarily those idols of Rome, when their public service is administered.

Having ended with their ceremonies, we are next to treat of the worships themselves: and because these are divers, I will speak therefore of each the more briefly: wishing the reader if he desire to know more herein, to inquire after their books. Churching of women after

in this word (*fly from it*) for this does not coldly bid us to avoid it, but (as it were pulling us out of the flame) it crieth fervently, use all diligence to separate it from thee. Be zealous in heart to detest it with horror, and shake thine hands from the

least communication with it, *etiam minima ex parte.*" "He is preposterous that willeth the physician to be sick, and not rather the sick to receive health from him."—*Park[er on the] Cross*, l. i. pp. 20, 21.]

childbirth they term a superstitious service, a point of popery, a foolish custom: ^w indeed no other than a plain mocking of God, and profaning of his name and religion, devised merely of men, viz. the papists. Moreover to prove it a false and idolatrous worship, they give these reasons:—

Al. Dam.
197.
Sol. Bar.
Ques. Con.
Chur. Wo.
54. 7.
Lear. Dis.
Ec. Gover.
73.
Qu. Con.
Ch. Wom.
p. 7. 22.

[*First.*] In the whole form there is no thanksgiving at all: but a mere Jewish or popish purifying, and therefore it is a horrible mocking of God, to pretend that they give him praise, when there is not a word spoken tending or looking that way.

[*Secondly.*] This thanksgiving (as they call it) is even the very same, word for word (excepting the title) with their purification in popery, the difference is only in this, that the papists is in Latin, and theirs in English.

Id. p. 12.
Note.
Id. 7. 23.
Id. 14.
Ec. Go. 74.
Q. Con.
Ch. 27.

[*Thirdly.*] Whosoever doth this, shows herself either to be a Jew or Papist.

[*Fourthly.*] The *primitive churches never used it, neither ought it to be suffered in any well reformed church.

* [100]

[*Fifthly.*] Chancellors, officials, &c., are hereby justified in their crooked and unconscionable proceedings.

Idem. 23.

[*Sixthly.*] This breedeth and nourisheth many superstitious opinions, in the simple people's hearts, as that the woman which hath borne a child is unclean or unholy,^x

* [Altare Dam[ascenum], p. 651, ed. 1708. Canne's ed. 197.]

x ["As for the churching of women. because it savoureth of the Jewish purification, and of popish institution, it ought altogether to be omitted, for it breedeth and nourisheth many superstitious opinions in the simple people's hearts; as, that the woman which hath borne a child is unclean and unholy; whereas the apostle pronounceth,

that godly women are sanctified and saved by bearing of children," 1 Tim. ii. 15.—*Lear[ned Dis[course of] Ec[clesiastical] Gover[nment]*, p. 73.

This work is, by Dr. Burgess, attributed to Henry Jacob. In the D. W. L. copy Canne's reference is found p. 74. It should seem from the title page that this was the first edition printed in 1584.]

II Tim. ii.
Ec. Go. 74.

contrary to the apostle's word, "Who teacheth that godly women are sanctified by bearing of children."^x Again, that it is unlawful for her, upon necessity, to go out of her doors before she be churched, that this churching is a necessary part of the minister's office, &c. Touching the Psalm cxxi., appointed for that purpose, they say it is "childishly abused,"^y yea, the words greatly profaned.

I Adm. p.
13.
Qu. Con.
Ch. W. 62.
Def. Adm.
1. Ad. p. 13.
Ec. Gov.
74. see T.
C. l. i. 67,
68.

Lastly. For their other rites and customs, viz. the woman's lying-in with a white sheet upon her bed, her coming forth muffled and veiled,^z as being ashamed to look up for some folly committed: her appointed offering, the clerk's waiting her home, and the midwives going by her side forth and back, &c. These they term baubles, foolish, and superstitious things.

II Ad. 57.
I Ad. 13.
Ec. Go. 73.
Distinct 5
De Conse.
cap. de his
vero.
Sold. Bar.

"The confirmation of children, by laying on of the hands of the [bishops] is not, (say they) agreeable to the word of God at all;" but a mere device of man, a popish and peevish superstition,^a brought in by Pope Clement the First in the year 310, who affirmed that he was no Christian which wilfully left this undone. Pope Melchiades

^x [A Learned Discourse of] Ec[clesiastical] Gov[ernment], D. W. L. copy, p.] 74.]

^y I Adm[onition, &c., D. W. L. copy,] p. 13.]

^z ["That the churching of women is a necessary part of the pastor's office, that she must wear a white rail [veil] over her head when she goeth to church" [attended] "by the midwife, waited home with the parish clerk, with divers such like baubles," [are things] "which in a well reformed church are not to be suffered."—[A Learned Discourse of] Ec[clesiastical] Gov[ernment,] p. 74, [75, D. W. L. copy.] I Adm[onition, &c., D. W. L. copy,] p. 13.]

^a ["But as for confirmation, as it hath no ground out of the scriptures at all, so I would have their prayers marked, how they reckon up the sevenfold graces as the papists did, neither more nor less, where they have one grace more than the eleven that Essay [Isaiah] hath, which they allude unto. And again, they form fewer than are mentioned in the rest of the scriptures. Lord, to see these very follies, may not this book be altered neither in matter nor manner?"—II Ad[monition, &c. D. W. L. copy,] p. 57; and I Adm[onition, &c., D. W. L. copy,] p. 13; Ec[clesiastical] Gov[ernment, Learned Discourse of,] p. 73.]

came after, and affirmed it to be a more worthy sacrament than the sacrament of baptism. To prove this confirmation a wicked and most vile practice, these reasons * are * [101] alleged of them.

[First.] Because as it is prescribed by their book, it is made a new sacrament beside those two which Jesus Christ ordained.^b

[Secondly.] Seeing the gifts of miracles which the apostles had are ceased, this kind of imposition of hands (which was taken up at first from an apish imitation thereof) must cease also.

[Thirdly.] Whereas the ministration of baptism is permitted to every hedge-priest, minister, and deacon, the prelates do presumptuously and damnably to appropriate this to themselves alone.

[Fourthly.] They do not only pray over them, but impose hands upon them, that by means thereof they may receive strength against all the temptations of sin, which is to take that power to them which God never gave them, and to do a thing whereof they have no promise that any good shall follow.^c

Lastly. This, "displaced catechising, [and] brought in-

^b ["What," [shall we say] "to all our writers, who condemn confirmation for that, signifying the same that baptism signified before, it robbeth the sacrament of his honour?" . . . as for the cross, he is an altar fetched from Damascus and set in the temple cheek by jowl with the altar of the Lord, which what is it else but to partake with the religion of that Damascus from which we borrow him?" . . . "Master Calvin calleth the holy water a mere profanation and repetition of baptism, and yet it is used out of baptism. What then, is the cross

used in baptism to signify the same that baptism doth? Is not baptism the seal of the heavenly king? and can any new print be added to the seal of a king without treason?"'] *Park[er] of the Cr[oss,]* l. i. p. 101. And can that "seal of the heavenly king," then, "without treason" be applied, by man to any, except to those accredited believers for whom it was appointed?]

^c ["In that," [confirmation] "they go directly contrary to the word of God."—[*Defence*] *ag[ainst the Slanders of]* *Bridg[es]*, p. 107.]

Def. Pet.
for Refer.
p. 35.
Fen. on the
Sac.
Park. of
the Cr. l.
i. 101.
Perth.
Assem. 92,
93.
T. C. Rest.
Sec. Rep.
232.
T. C. l. i.
199, 100.
Ag. Bridg.
Sian. p. 107.
Eccles
Gov. 73.

stead thereof, vain toys and childish ceremonies to the great hurt of the church."^d Therefore for these reasons it ought to be shut out, and have no place in the church of God.

The like they speak of their order and rites, whereby matrimony, is celebrated in their churches. The form of it is taken out of the mass book,^e and therefore called pretty juggling trash, the ring there used is generally reputed a popish and idolatrous practice, and no less superstition is there committed in saying, "with my body I thee worship," for herein the new married man makes an idol of his wife.^f I omit many other heathenish and anti-christian toys which the Nonconformists relate, to be observed herein, whereby saith the author *of the Admonition, they make rather a maygame of marriage, than a holy institution of God. As for their restraint of marriage in Lent, and other certain times, they call it the doctrine of devils: devised by Pope Nicholas, in the year 871, and since upheld by his unclean birds, for filthy lucre's sake. But here the Nonconformists would have us take notice, that howsoever the hierarchy forbid sometime this thing; yet any man may have a dispensation for money, and then those holy times shall have no pollution by marriage, such virtue money hath with it, or such power it hath with these base caterpillars.^g

Concerning burials, this they say: all prayers either over or for the dead, are not only superstitious and vain, but also are idolatry, and against the plain scriptures of God. No such thing was used in the apostles' time, and as for their prescript form of service, appointed for this

Sion's Pl.
29. Defenc.
Admon. T.
C. l. i. 199.
& 2 Rep.
236.
Def. Pet.
for Refor.
63, 64.
1 Adm. 13.

* [102]

In Chro.
Graftoni.
Sold. Bar.
Def. Pet.
216.

Alt. Dam.
195, 196.

First B.
Dis. p. 65.

T. C. Rest.
Sec. Rep.
237.
Def. Ad.
Sion's Pl.
29.

^d [A Learned Discourse of] Ecclesiastical Government, p. 73. D. W. L. copy, 1584.]

^e [Sion's Plea,] p. 29. [Defence of the] Admonition; T. C.,

&c., refers to Thomas Cartwright's First Reply to Whitgift.]

^f [Admonition, &c., D. W. L. copy,] p. 13.]

^g [Altare Damascenum, Canne's edition, pp.] 195, 196.]

business, it is taken wholly from the stinking portass,^b and for this cause they name themselves popish apes. Besides, prayer for the dead is maintained and partly gathered out of some of their prayers: as for the white or black cross,ⁱ set upon the dead corpse, and ringing a threefold peal, the practice is popish: mourning in black garments for the dead,^j if it be not hypocritical, yet it is superstitious and heathenish: funeral sermons, they also utterly condemn, because they are put in the place of trentals, and many other superstitious abuses follow thereby. To be brief, the priest's meeting the corpse at the church stile, with the clerk in their surplices, the manner of laying the dead ^{*}in the grave, viz. east and west, that he may rise with his face to the east, the priest's offering, and mortuary, the bread and other thing given to the poor, distinction of burials, as some in the chancel, some in the church, and some in the churchyards,^k all these are said to be naught, idolatrous, unlawful, and therefore the Nonconformists will have the dead to be buried in this sort, (holding no other way lawful,) namely, that it be conveyed to the place of burial, with some honest company of the church, without either singing or reading, yea, without all kinds of ceremony heretofore used, other than that the dead be committed to the grave, with such gravity and sobriety as those that be present may seem to fear the judgments of God, and to hate sin, which is the cause of death; and thus do the best and right reformed churches bury their dead, without any ceremonies of praying or preaching at them.^l

ⁱ I Adm. p. 13.
Sold Bar. I Adm. 13.
T. C. l. i. p. 200.
Id.

^{*} {163}
A. Dam. 199, 200, 201.
^f Ec. Go. 75.
M. Bates, 183.

First Boo. of Dis. 65.

Ec. Go. p. 75.

^b [Sion's Pl[ea,] p. 29.]

ⁱ [I Adm[onition, &c., D. W. L. copy,] p. 13.]

^j [Ibid.] [The Sold[ier of] Bar[wick] is a pleasant dialogue between a soldier of Berwick and an English

chaplain. B. L. O.]

^k [A Learned Discourse of] Ec[clesiastical] Go[vernment, p.] 75. [D. W. L. copy.]

^l ["It is thought good, to the best and right reformed churches, to bury

II Ad. 57.

Slon Pl.
29.M. Gilbie
Pref. p. 2.

* [104]

Alt. Dam.
211, 212,
213.
I Ad. 4. 11.

We come next to their sacraments, which are (as they say) sinfully mangled, profaned, and wickedly ministered.^m The prescript form of service, whereby their Lord's supper is consecrated and administered, is taken wholly out of the popish dunghill, the mass book,ⁿ and such are their inventions, profanations, and superstitions, used in this ordinance, as the Nonconformists profess that they eat not the Lord's supper, but play a pageant of their own to blind the people, and keep them still in superstition, far from the simplicity of Christ's supper, to make the silly souls believe that they have an English mass: (which is too true, saith the author in the margin,) and so put no difference betwixt truth and falsehood, * betwixt Christ and antichrist, betwixt God and the devil. I might here lay down every particular thing which they do herein, as the priest's standing at the north side of the table, his beginning with the Lord's prayer and a collect, rehearsing afterwards the ten commandments and the creed: then reading a short exhortation to those which are minded to receive: their falling down, and rising up again many times together, their manner of consecrating the bread and wine, taking it kneeling, the minister's going up and down to give it to every one with his own hand, his speaking in the singular number, Take thou, &c.; their saying over again the Paternoster, with singing, piping, surplice, &c.;^o all these, say the Inconform[ists], are disorders, superstitions,

their dead reverently, without any ceremony of praying or preaching at them, because experience hath taught them what inconvenience may grow thereof, by example of that which hath been before."—*A Learned Discourse of* *Ec[clesiastical] Go[vernment]*, D. W. L. copy, p.] 75.]

^m ["The sacraments be so wick-

edly" "ministered," "without examination of the supper, or sincerity in baptism."]—*II Ad[monition]*, &c., D. W. L. copy, p.] 57.]

ⁿ [Slon's Plea, &c., p. 29.]

^o [Alt[are] Dam[ascenum, pp.] 211, 212, 213. I Ad[monition], &c. D.W.L. copy, p. 4—11.]

profanations of scripture, and done contrary to the practice of the primitive churches, and just after the manner of the papists.

Their "public baptism [that also] is full of childish and superstitious toys,"^p and as for the prayers used therein, they are either foolish or false.^q And no marvel, seeing they are also taken out of the cursed "mass book."^r The conjured font, (as they name it,) was brought in by Pius the First, in the year 147. And Pope Hyginus brought in godfathers and godmothers, in the year 143, both which they call pieces of popery; the interrogatories ministered to the infant, a foolish thing, a great mockery of God's service, whereby an occasion is given to men to

^p I Adm[onition to the Parliament,] p. 12. [This "book was called *An Admonition to the Parliament*, (first and second part) though it was never offered to them. It was composed in the midst of the heats concerning wearing the habits; and whilst some ceremonies enjoined were pressed upon the neglecters that upon certain pretences took a great dislike to them, several persons had assembled privately together in London, namely, Gilby, Sampson, Lever, Field, Wilcox, and some others; Cartwright very likely among the rest; and then it was agreed upon, that an Admonition should be compiled, and offered unto the parliament approaching."—*Strype's Whitgift*, p. 27. The last words here given from Strype prove that the Admonition was designed, and its own structure indicates that it was prepared before the parliament of 1570 and 1571, the thirteenth of Elizabeth, met. This formed the "first part" of this "dangerous book which this year [1572] riseth up openly and insolently against the

church."—*Strype, ibid.* The "second part" is called, "A View of Popish Abuses yet remaining in the English Church, for which godly Ministers have refused to subscribe." It begins, "whereas immediately after the last parliament . . . begun in anno 1570, and ended . . . 1571, the ministers of God's holy word . . . were called before her majesty's high commissions, and enforced to subscribe unto the articles . . . and some for refusing to subscribe, were unbrotherly and uncharitably treated, and removed from their offices and places." These "*parts*" therefore are two works, one written before, and the other after the parliament of 1570, but printed together in 1572. Canne's references are verified in the D. W. L. copy, printed 1617.]

II Adm[onition to Parliament, written by Cartwright, D. W. L. copy, 1617,] p. 57.

^q [Park[er on the] Cross, l. i. p. 71.]

^r [I Adm[onition, &c.,] p. 4.]

I Adm. 12.
II Adm. 57.
Sold. Bar.
Park. Cros.
l. i. 71.
I Adm. 4.
T. C. l. i.
168.
Alt. Dam.
203, 204.
Def. P. for
Retor. 34.
T. C. Sec.
Rep. Last.
p. 224, 225.
Gilb. end b.
I Adm. 12.

utter a lie before the Lord. That the godfathers and godmothers shall promise that the child doth believe and doth forsake the devil, &c., is a thing wickedly * put upon them, and baptism by this means exceedingly profaned.^s Of the cross we have spoken before: there is yet one thing touching it, which the reformists wish us to observe: that is, a most wicked practice of their ungracious bishops; these whelps of antichrist, will have infants signed forsooth with the sign of the cross, "In token that hereafter they shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ, &c., and to fight against sin, &c." Now mark, what notorious mockers of God these are; for, if any one who is thus signed, doth afterwards confess the faith of Christ against Arminians and Papists, and fight against the main works of the devil, to wit, the popish ceremonies, government, worship, ministry, &c., they will surely raise up against him the greatest persecution that may be, and he must either forsake his own country, or they will kill him in prison.

Moreover touching private baptism, and ministering the Lord's supper in their houses, this gear (they say) is repugnant and against God's word, in effect like to a popish mass,^t a popish and superstitious practice, foolishly and sinfully first taken up; for the sacraments were not

* ["The public baptism, that also is full of childish toys; first in their prayer, they say, that God by the baptism of his Son Jesus Christ, did sanctify the flood Jordan, and all other waters, to the mystical washing away of sin, attributing^a to the sign that which is proper to the work of God in the blood of Christ, as though virtue were in water to wash away sins. Secondly, they require a promise of the godfathers and godmothers (as they term them) which is not in

their power to perform; thirdly, they profane holy baptism in toying foolishly, for that they ask questions of an infant which cannot answer, and speak unto them as was wont to be spoken unto men, and unto such as, being converted, answered for themselves, and were baptized: which is but a mocking of God, and therefore against the scriptures," &c.—*I Admonition*, &c. D. W. L. copy, p. 12.]

^t [I Adm[onition to Parliament. D. W. L. copy, p.] 10, 11, 12.]

* [105]

Curt. Ch.
Pow. p. 4, 5.

I Ad. 4.
11, 12.
Sol. Barw
T. C. 1. i.
28, 29. 143.
T. C. Rest.
sec. re. 144,
145, 146.
Per. Asse,
96, 97.

ordained of God to be used thus, as charms and sorceries, but left to the congregation, and necessarily annexed to the scriptures, as seals of the same, yet not tied to the material churches, made of dead stones, but to the church made of lively stones. If therefore the congregation be in a wood, house, or cave, the sacraments may be administered in a wood, house, or cave, but the same must be done in the sight of the * assembly, for they are irreligiously handled when they are administered otherwise. Baptizing by women they also condemn, and hold it to be no more the holy sacrament of baptism than any other daily or ordinary washing of the child.^a

* [106]
Def. Pet.
for Ref.
37. 38.
1 Adm. 12.

Lent fast, they say, was ordained by pope Telesphorus in the year 136, and they keep it [in] England, for the same end that the papists do. Justly, therefore, is it named a Romish error, a superstitious fast; the service appointed for that time is against the scriptures, and God's name profaned by the curses and adjurations then used; for their other fasts they are said to be monuments of idolatry, devised of antichrist, in all the rites and orders of them superstitious, and directly against God's commandments.^v As for Wednesdays', Fridays', and Saturdays' fasts, Bonifacius is said to ordain them in the year 315; and pope Calixtus in the year 206 ordained Ember fasts, and in the year 425 another Romish beast ordained Saints' Eves' fasts; and all this trash and dung was first devised by Montanus, that notable heretic, as Mr. Cart[wright] observeth from Eusebius; and for what use serves all this trumpery, but only to keep out and hinder true fasting indeed?

T. C. l. 1.
144.
T. C. Rest.
Last Rep.
124.
Sol. Barw.
Alt. Dam.
188.
Curt. Ch.
p. 121, 122.
11 Adm. 57.
Sion Pl.
108. id 117.
Sol. Barw.
Alt. Dam.
189.
Sold Bar.

First Rep.
30.
Si. Pl. 108.

The observation of holy days, as Christmas, Circumcision, Epiphany, Purification, and all other of the saints, is a

Alt. Da.
182.

^a [I Admon[ition to Parliament, D. W. L. copy, p.] 57.]

D. W. L. copy,] p. 12.]

[Sion's Plea, p. 108—117. [Ed.

^v [II Adm[onition to Parliament. 1574.]

T. C. l. i.
151.
1 Adm. 11.
M. Iac.
Art. 22.
Scarpus
Cru The.
de Ec. Tri.
p. 40, 41.
* [107]
Per. Ass.
p. 63 to
87.

breach of the second [*? fourth*] commandment;^w and herein some part of the abominations of the Romish religion is practised; such, therefore, as impose this upon men's consciences, do it without any warrant of God's word, and therefore the same cannot be kept lawfully. *Many good reasons for this are showed in their writings, as the reader may see (if he please) in the places noted.

Sol. Barw.

Moreover they do affirm, that the whole prescript service appointed for these saints' days is idolatrous, antichristian. Of the same nature are all their ordinary collects; pope Gregory and Gelasius, they say, ordained them, and they have them word for word, as they stand in the blasphemous mass-book. I might here show how some of their collects are charged with Arianism, others with popery and Arminianism; many with lies and manifest contradictions. But to be short; they tell us in one word that the saying of them is not praying, but indeed wicked prattling.^x As for the Litany well naturing the name of a laborious service in the dust and dirt (for so Homer and others useth the same), it is borrowed from the practice of the heathen, as Casaubon out of Dionysius Halicarnasse observeth; and is in very deed nothing but an impure mass of conjuring and charming battologies, whereby the name of God is highly profaned, his house and worship abused, God's

Ag. Banc.
38.
Curt. Ch.
Pow. 41.
II Adm. 56,
57.
Alt. Da. n.
195.
Abrid. 94.
II Adm. 57.

Exercit. p.
27.
Hist. Trob.
Frank. p. 30.
Atar. Da.
638, 639.

^w [In this book days are ascribed unto saints, and kept holy with fasts on their evens, and prescript service appointed for them; which, beside that they are of many superstitiously kept and observed, are also contrary to the commandment of God—"Six days shalt thou labour."—I Adm[onition, &c.] p. 11.]

^x [II Adm[onition, &c. D. W. L. copy, pp.] 56, 57.]

[Abrid. 94, [or p. 74 in the copy, described p. iii.]

[II Adm[onition, &c. p. 57.] Hist[ory of the] Troub[les in] Frank[fort,] p. 30. This work, which unfolds the bitter spirit of the Episcopalians during their banishment in the reign of Queen Mary, was first published in 1575, and is now preserved in the Phenix, vol. ii. D. W. L. p. 44, &c.] "Atar. Da.," in the margin, is for Altare Damascenum.]

people by it abandoned the sanctuary, and the profane love no worship so well as it.

Sion Pl.
316, 317.
Def. Ad.
4.
Cartw. ag.
Rhe. Test.
p. 2.

The epistles and gospels read in their churches is a practice taken wholly from Rome, and they use the very same which the others do. This chopping and hacking of the scriptures, this rending of it a-pieces one from another, is contrary to the order which God hath ordained, and his churches practised from time to time, and therefore the Nonconformists have desired that it *might be taken away * as an evil thing. Again, in those epistles and gospels which the prelates cause superstitiously thus to be read, there are sundry words and sentences of holy scriptures left out^v which were given by divine inspiration for the profit of the whole church; and many words and sentences of their own foolish brain added to the text as parts of it: yea, in many places, such absurd things are put, as no reasonable sense can be made thereof. Besides, very often the meaning of the Holy Ghost is perverted, by a false interpretation of the text, and sundry places applied to the countenancing of some points of false doctrine. All

[108]
See De-
fence of
the Minist.
Reasons
for Refusal
of Subscrip-
tion to the
Book of
Com. Pr.
first and
second
part, pa.
14 to 21.

^v ["We have two things to say wherein we esteem the Book [of Common Prayer] not to agree with the word of God. *First*, for omitting much of the canon, and taking in the apocrypha. *Second*, for appointing a corrupt translation of the psalms, epistles, and gospels to be read," &c.] *Defence of Ministers' Reasons for Refusal of Subscription to the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 14 to 21. [D.W.L. copy, printed 1607; from its title page the following is copied. "This [work] was written by old Mr. Samuel Hieron, of Modbury, Devon; it was printed in Holland, and sent over packed up in the goods of an eminent merchant of Plymouth, Mr. T. Sherwil. No book-

seller daring to sell it, the whole impression was given away; some were sent superscribed to each of the twenty-six bishops and other of his antagonists, and several in the city and universities. Some were dropped in the streets, and others left at the doors of scholars; so the author was never discovered to his enemies or the collectors of his works. He also was the unknown author of [A Short Dialogue, proving that the Ceremonies, &c., are defended by none other arguments than such as papists have heretofore used.]" D. W. L. copy, 1605. "This account in my Father Quick's Life of Mr. Hieron, MS."]

this is showed largely by the ministers of Lincoln in the Abridgment, and the like they say of the Psalms in the Book of Common Prayer, the prescript number whereof and Lessons, as the English priests now observe, were devised by pope Gregory the Seventh in the year 1073.

That any of the Apocrypha should be publicly read, the Nonconformists hold it utterly unlawful.^a

[*First.*] Because to use any word publicly in the church, beside the written word of God, contained in the canonical scriptures, is condemned by the second commandment.

[*Secondly.*] In the church of the Jews, in the apostles' time, only Moses and the prophets were read.

[*Thirdly.*] The scriptures are sufficient, both for doctrine and manners, and were given to that end.

[*Fourthly.*] It is the proper office of Christ to be the teacher of his church, and therefore no writing may be appointed to be read in the congregation for instruction of manners, but *only such as have been indited by his Spirit.

[*Fifthly.*] Many by this means are brought into a great error, thinking that the same is scripture.

[*Sixthly.*] These Apocrypha books contain a number of shameful lies, horrible blasphemies, vain vanities, plain contradictions, ridiculous fooleries, Athe[istical] impieties, fables fitter for Telemachus and Æneas than for God's people.^a

Notwithstanding, though these books be thus false, wicked, and abominable, yet in their assemblies many of them are commanded to be read for first lessons, yea, under the name of the holy scriptures of the Old Testa-

* [Abridgment,] pp. 8, 9.]

^a [Second part of the Defence of Ministers' Reasons for Refusing Subscription to the Book of Common

Prayer. [D. W. L. copy. This second part is a fearful exposure, and was published in 1608; see p. 119.]

Sold. Bar.
Tabl

Cartwr.
Cat. p. 98.
Act. xlii. 15,
and xv. 21.
2 Tim. iii.
16, 17.
Abrid. 8, 9.
Def. Pet.
for Refor.
92, 93.

• [109]

Second
part of the
Defence of
Minist.
Reas. Refus.
Subscription
Mr.
Brought.
Treat. of
Apo. p. 23
to 35.

ment, without any note of difference from the canonical, as the lying story of Susanna under the name of Daniel xiii.; and in as great a measure for their proportion as the other. Moreover, many of the apocryphal chapters are to be read twice in one year, and some thrice, but so are not any of the canonical chapters of the Old Testament; but a great part of them, and of the New also, by the order which their Common Prayer Book prescribeth, are not to be read at all in their churches.^b

[*Lastly.*] The Nonconf[ormists] tell us, that these idle legends are read upon their great holy days when the church assemblies are wont to be best frequented, and oftentimes the holy scriptures must give place to them as tending more to edification, and therefore may not be so well spared as the other.

Reading of homilies in the church (which is a cushion for idle and blind priests to rest upon), is said to be foolish, fond,^c and unlawful; a practice never heard of in the church in the apostles' time, neither indeed is it a means to beget faith, but the instrument of foolish and *idol shepherds.^d As the prophets, therefore, might not in calling the people together blow any trumpets but those which were made and set apart for that purpose by the commandment of God,^e so ought not the ministers of God to expound or read openly in the congregation any writings, but only the canonical scriptures which the Lord hath set apart and sanctified for that use. Here by the way I wish the reader to note well the last words, viz. that no writings ought to be read in the congregation but the canonical scriptures. This position is often affirmed by the learned-

Abridg.
p. 7.

They
mean in
the opinion
of the Eb.

Alt Dam.
193.
II Adm. 47.
T. C. 1 i.
196, 197.
Neces. Dis.
52, 53.
Ecl. Gov.
49.
* [110]
Park. Cr.
l. i. 192,
&c.
Nu. x. 28.
D. Chader.
Sermon
upon Rom.
xii. p. 53.
Let such
as have
been plead-
ers for
human
forms of
prayer,
answer
this if
they can

^b [Abridg[ment,] p. 7.]

^c [II Adm[onition to the Parlia-
ment,] p. 47. [D. W. L.]

^d [A Learned Discourse of Ec-

cl[esiastical] Gov[ernment. D.W.L.
copy, p.] 49.]

* [Park[er on the] Cr[oss,] l. i.
p. 192, &c.]

est of the Nonconformists, namely, Mr. Cartwright, D. Chadderton, &c. Hence then it must follow, that all forms of prayer devised by men are unlawful to be read in the congregation, and therefore wherever this is practised, men ought necessarily to abstain from joining therewith.

But to proceed: not only is the reading of homilies utterly condemned, but also it hath been proved by the Nonconformists, that those which the bishops command to be read in their assemblies, have in them many things doubtful and of dangerous construction; yea, sundry erroneous points of doctrine, and things most evidently false and untrue.^f

I have been more large in the former points than I purposed at the beginning, I will therefore in the rest be the shorter, touching *Nunc dimittis*, *Benedictus*, and *Magnificat*, which they used to read and sing in their churches, the Nonconformists say it is a profaning of the scriptures,^g palpable folly, and vain prattling. Their * minister saying one piece of prayer, and the people with mingled voices to say another, is Babylonish confusion.^h The Lord's prayer also is horribly abused by their often and vain repetition of it, being said not less than eight times at some meetings; other shreds and short cuts they handle in this manner, viz., let us pray, Glory be to the Father, &c., Lord have mercy, &c., Christ have mercy, and many like, which is

^f ["From this we come to the homilies, which are allowed by one of the Articles, where beside the contrariety they have in the order itself, that the human writings of men are brought to be read in the church, and that to underprop yet a more foul abuse, even the inability of ministers to teach;" "there are found in them divers hard doctrines, as that alms purchase forgiveness of sins; that Christ

swore every time he said, Verily, verily; [and] that matrimony is a sacrament." —Def[ence] ag[ainst the Slanders of] Brid[ges], pp. 116, 117. [Abridgment, pp. 76, 77, in Canne's ed.] pp. 97, 98.]

^g [I Adm[onition to Parliament, p.] 14. II Adm[onition, &c. p.] 55. [D. W. L. copy.]

^h [Eng[lish] Puri[tanism,] p. 20. [D. W. L. copy, printed 1605.]

Def. ag.
Brid. 116,
117.
Abridg.
97, 98.

I Adm. 14.
II Adm. 55.

* [111]

Eng. Puri-
tan, p. 20.

Alt. Dam.
191.

mere babbling, and cannot be more justly defended than the papists' beads. Uncovering the head, making a leg, and scraping on the ground, and such like courtesy, when Jesus is named, is counted a superstitious, foolish, and unlawful device, a mocking of God, and a beggarly sign of obedience, no less is standing at the gospel, a thing wickedly devised by Anastatius the pope, in the year 404. Their Good Friday's service is utterly disliked, so the holy week before Easter, the observation of Gangdays, or rogation week, is wholly popish, invented by Hilarius the great antichrist, in the year 444.ⁱ Organs and other church music they call idol service, because it serves not to any edification,^j but draws the mind to carnal delight; besides, this was a part of the Levitical service which is now ceased in Christ, and for many hundred years after the apostles, musical instruments were not known to the church, till in the year 653, the old serpent, by pope Vitalianus, brought up the organs, and to have them go, about the same time, that beast, with Gregory and Gelasius (two monsters like himself), ordained descant, forward and backward, plain song and pricksong, and thus was the music made up, just as * the devil would * [112] have it. Ringing of curfews upon Hallow Eve, is like the rest; yea, the bells themselves as they are used in their assemblies, are put unto popish uses. He that first ordained them was Sabinian the great pope, in the year 603, and much virtue is attributed to them in popery as to stir up men's devotion, preserve fruits, put enemies to flight, still tempests, drive away all wicked spirits and devils, &c.

176, 177.
Fall of
Bab. 65.

Sold. Bar.

Abridg. 91

Sol. Barw.
Fresh Suit
l. ii. 404.
Def. Pet.
for Refor.
74, 75.

Alt. Dam.
156.
Fall of Ba-
bel, 48.
Sold. Bar.
Tabl.
I Adm. 15.

Sold. Bar.
Tabl.

ⁱ [Abridg[ment,] p. 91. In the copy described, p. iii. pp. 70—75.]

^j [We have brought a tedious and player-like music into the church, or tumultuous noise of many voices, such as, I think, was not heard among the theatres of Grecians or Romans; for

which purpose whole flocks of boys are maintained at great charges, whose age also is all spent in learning such gibblegabble. At such cost the church is for a pestiferous thing.'—*Erasmus in Dr. Ames's Fresh Suit, &c.*, part ii. pp. 404—445.]

I do omit to speak of many particular things used in their cathedral dens or cloisters, partly because the reader may guess what there is, by that which hath been said, and partly because the dung and trash there is so vile and loathsome, as I am not willing to blot paper therewith. But there is one thing which I had almost forgotten, viz., their visitation of the sick; not that it is less superstitious and naught than the other, for the Nonconformists affirm the prescript service of it, to be taken as the rest out of the mass-book, and it is such stuff as he which wrote the Altar of Damascus made himself merry when he described the foolishness of it.^k

Pag. 198.

Thus the assumption is sufficiently proved; the conclusion therefore is certain, viz. that the worship of the English service book is unlawful to be communicated with. In the next section we shall see what Doctor Ames hath to say against this thing.

^k ["We should be too long to tell your honours of cathedral churches, the dens aforesaid of all loitering lubbers, where master dean, master vice-dean, master canons, or prebendaries the greater, master petty canons, or canons the lesser, master chancellor of the church, master treasurer, otherwise called Judas the purse-bearer, the chief chanter, singing men, special favour-

ers of religion, squeaking choristers, organ players, gospellers, pistlers, pensioners, readers, vergers, &c., live in great idleness, and have their abiding. If you would know whence all these came, we can easily answer you, that they came from the pope as out of the Trojan horses' belly, to the destruction of God's kingdom."—*I Admonition to the Parliament*, p. 15. D. W. L. copy,]

SECT[ION] V.

[THE REASONS ADDUCED BY DOCTOR AMES TO PROVE THE UNLAWFULNESS OF SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CONSIDERED AND REFUTED.]

For the reader's better understanding of the point to be handled in this section, I will,

[FIRST,] Lay down *the substance of D[octo]r Burgess's * [113] speech. "I have seen," saith he, "some of the Inconformists' confutations," (meaning of the Separatists,) "which I confess never satisfied my conscience, for I am, and ever have been of that opinion, that there can be no just confutation of them made by such of the Nonconformists, as have given them their main principles (what 232. these principles are he afterward declares,) viz., that nothing may be established in the church but what God hath commanded in his word; that all forms of worship not prescribed, and all mere ecclesiastical rites are will-worship, &c.; that our ceremonies are idolatrous in the use of them, &c.: which principles, if I did believe to be true, I profess in God's presence I would proclaim separation from idolatrous worship and worshippers this day ere I slept, and not halt as these men (by their own positions do) betwixt idolatry and religion."^m

[SECONDLY.] D[octo]r Ames answereth to this effect: "The confounding of mere rites with forms of worship is not ours, but only by the Rej[oinder's] fiction. That every church is to be utterly condemned, and so to be separated from, that hath anything in it by participation

^m [An Answer rejoined to "A Reply to Dr. Morton's General Defence of Three Nocent Ceremonies, &c.," by

Dr. John Burgess, p. 235 and 236. D. W. L. copy.]

idolatrous, is made schismatical by a schismatical conceit of the Rej[oinder,] &c. His profession of separation (this day before he slept) is nothing but a rhetorical flourish which he would twice recall, before he would separate from those that bow to the altars, or even those which worship an ubiquitary body in the Lord's supper, though these are more palpably idolatrous (in his conscience) than the ceremonies questioned are in ours."ⁿ

* [114]

Here is something said, although not a word, to the main point in dispute, which either Mr. D[octo]r Ames saw not, *or else (and so I rather think) he thought it best to let it pass in silence. The words which the Rej[oinder] takes from the Nonconformists are, that all forms of worship not prescribed of God are will-worships; and hence infers separation. Now, what saith D[octo]r Ames to this? Nothing at all; but talks of the Rej[oinder's] fiction in confounding mere rites, &c. But, by his leave, I see no such thing in the Rej[oinder,] but indeed, the cause of the confusion is wholly of himself, for D[octo]r B[urgess] lays down forms of worship and ecclesiastical rites distinctly; unto both which he should distinctly have answered, if his meaning had been to satisfy judicious and conscionable readers. I will not here use D[octo]r Ames's comparison of Jo[hn] a Stile, and Jo[hn] a Nokes, but a more sober one. If a woman should be brought before the magistrate for certain crimes, as namely whoredom and some light carriage, and for this her husband would be divorced; now, imagine that she had a proctor there to plead for her, which would not mention her adultery at all, but give some reasons why a man should not put away his wife for every light carriage, would any wise judge approve of such pleading? [no]; but contrariwise, give sentence on the man's behalf. D[octo]r]

ⁿ [Fresh Suit, D. W. L. copy.]

Ames carrieth the matter just so. The church of England is charged by the Nonconformists, as the Rej[oinder] truly reports of false worship in it, and also of some idle ceremonies. Now, mark reader how he pleads for his mother: as touching the worship he saith nothing of it, but of the rites only, which are evils a hundred fold less than the other. Again, that every church is not to be left which hath something *in it by participation idolatrous. * [115] I know no man holds the contrary; therefore I cannot tell for what end he speaks it, much less why he puts a schismatical conceit upon the Rej[oinder,] whose words, if they be well considered, have substance and weight in them, and not conceits; and to speak truly what I think, D[oc]tor Ames's conceit, in framing this answer, was not of the best.

For thus he seems to argue:—

A church which hath something in it by participation idolatrous, is not to be separated from.

The Church of England is such.

Ergo. [The Church of England is not to be separated from.]

Now, according to this argument, no false worshippers should be left, Papists, Jews, nor Turks. Who sees not the lightness of it? Notwithstanding, except it be this way applied, for my part I cannot tell what to make of it. If any object, he meant that the ministry, worship, and government of the Eng[lish] assemblies is not so bad as to be separated from; I answer, this is yet to prove; the which thing lay now full upon him to do, if he would have taken the right point, and not needlessly to tell us of that which no man either asked of him, or doubted of.

[THIRDLY.] Though every church is not to be condemned, &c., yet such may be the corrupt state of some, as separation from them, is both lawful and necessary, the

Cart. Con.
Rh. T.
Jud. 19.

Nonconformists say as much. So the cause of separation be good, the separation from a company wherewith we were first united cannot be blamed, much less condemned of heresy. The thing which the Rej[oinder] chiefly insisted upon was, that the cause of separation from the Church of England is good, if the Nonconformists' *principles be true; what they are he names. D[octo]r Ames neither saith [whether] they be true or false, nor one word to any purpose, unless this be: viz., it is not lawful utterly to condemn, and so to separate from a church for every thing, therefore not for anything.

* [116]

[FOURTHLY.] Touching the matter here insinuated against the person of D[octo]r Burg[ess,] as if he meant not to practise what he professeth, I will leave it to himself to answer, only this I say, if he and others are so minded as he writes, certainly they shall find nothing in D[octo]r Ames's answer to inform them otherwise. But that they may safely retain still the same opinion, and separate from the Church of England when they do believe the Nonconformist's principles to be true.

[FIFTHLY.] I wonder what moved the D[octo]r to mention only ceremonies, and to intimate, as if the difference between them and the b[ishops] lay now mainly in this, considering (as he knew well) that these rites are very toys to other things in question. Hear what they say: "The controversy betwixt us and the bishop is not for trifles, as they would bear the world in hand, as for a cap, a tippet, or surplice, &c., but for great matters concerning a true ministry, and regiment of the church according to the word, which things once established, the other would melt away of themselves."^o

I Adm. 18.

Note.

^o ["But howsoever the matter be, albeit we should approve by deed, word, and writing, for good and suffi-

cient, all those filthy ceremonies that this church hath borrowed from popery, yet unless we would allow

Again, another [Puritan writer expresses himself] thus: The question is not (as it is every day in public sermons uncharitably upbraided) about trifles and things of no weight, as of variable ceremonies and matters of circumstances, which yet are to be squared by the sacred canons of holy scripture, but about matters of no small importance, even about the great and weighty cause * of Christ's kingdom, by what laws and offices his heritage is to be governed and protected, that is, of the whole discipline of the church of Christ, whether it be to be ordered by the uncertain and deceivable weights of human constitutions, or by the infallible oracles of God's most holy testimonies.^P Others thus: Our principal griefs, about the which, (alas, brethren) we have now too long and unhappily contended, are that all false ministries, and false government devised by men, may be taken away, and a lawful ministry and a right church-power restored. As for the square cap and such other toys, which not without cause we disallow, yet they do not so sore wound us, as those greater and weightier matters do, from the which all the rest are derived and drawn. To the like purpose Mr. Cartwright and others. And are not those great and weighty things in questions still? Yes, surely, and therefore for what reason D[octo]r Ames passeth them over without any word, and speaks of toys and trifles in comparison, let

Pref. Coun-
terp.

* [117]

Table Div.
Read in
Camb.
Note.

T. C. I. I.
p. 71.

an idol pastor, unless we would avow the lordship of ministers, unless we would shuffle the civil and ecclesiastical governments together, unless we would render canonical obedience, unless we would deny every church authority and right in the choice of their own ministry, unless we would submit ourselves in many things to be judged by the decrees and the decretals: to conclude, unless we would plainly dis-

claim and renounce the Lord's discipline, neither may we enter into the ministry, nor, being entered, long continue therein."—*Reasons against the use of Popish Ceremonies*. In Part of a Register, &c., p. 408. D. W. L.]

[I. Adm[onition, &c., described, p. 104. D. W. L. copy, p.] 18.]

^P [Counterp[osition] Pref[ace] found at p. 418, in Part of a Register, &c., D. W. L.]

the reader judge. Moreover, he had little need to make himself so ignorant what the Rej[oinder] meant by a principle?—what by separation? for if he had had any list to the thing, he could easily have understood the same; for in truth a child may perceive, if he read the place, that D[octo]r Burg[ess] intended such principles, as I before named from their writings, to wit, that they say they want a right ministry, worship, and church government. But the proverb is here true, “who so blind as he that will not see?”

* [118]

The author of the Preface to his book speaketh much like there^p about this point, a little there is added, namely, that Christ (our Teacher) and his apostles, did *join in the Jews’ worship, unto which were added many superstitions, as unlawful as their ceremonies.

Answ[er First.] I may use his own words; he doth not prove that which he concludeth; for howsoever many superstitious traditions were used by the Jews, yet whether they were brought in, and added to their sacred worship, instituted of God, as any parts thereof, is doubtful, and the contrary more probable.

[Secondly.] To say that Christ and his apostles did join in that worship, to which many superstitions were added, is too presumptuously spoken; and I wish men to be more sober, and not so boldly to affirm such groundless positions, to justify a corrupt and halting practice. I know D[octo]r Ames hath the like saying, that Christ was present when the traditions of men were observed in God’s worship. But he delivers this only upon his own word, and therefore we may believe it accordingly.

[Thirdly.] He saith, these superstitions in the Jews’ worship were as unlawful as their ceremonies. What testimony brings he for it? (as before.) None at all. If

Fresh Suit.
1. ii. 321.

^p [For—much in the same way there, about this point, &c.]

such arguments will pass, a man may soon have enough to fill a cart with. But note here how greatly they contradict one another. They said even now, that their ceremonies are such idols as a man cannot lawfully join with that worship, where they are used; yet here they say that they are not worse than were the superstitions in the Jews' worship, unto which Christ and his apostles joined. Now, which shall a man believe of them? Not the latter; for he gives no reason for what he speaks, but the others do.

[*Fourthly.*] If it should be all granted him (howbeit he proves nothing) *yet it will not follow that a man may com-^{* [119]} municate in the ministry, worship, and eccles[iastical] government of England, unless he can prove that that ministry, worship, and eccles[iastical] government to which Christ and his apostles joined, was false, idolatrous, anti-christian, as the Nonconformists do affirm the other to be.

Some thought that this point would have been more effectually answered, specially because D[octo]r Burg[ess] pressed it home so close upon them, and took such a solemn protestation in it as the like is not to be seen (I think) in the book. But for my part, I expected no better; for I saw the Rej[oinder] had them at the advantage, and therefore D[octo]r Ames was constrained either to condemn their own chief principles, or to justify separation by them, or else to shift off the point, and say nothing, or (as the very truth is) nothing of it to the purpose.

Before I end this chapter, I will answer briefly to some objections which many are ready to make for their joining in communion with this worship.

Object[ion the First.] Howsoever, we do believe that the same is (as the Nonconformists say) unlawful and anti-christian, yet we think we may yield our bodily presence

to it, so we inwardly loath the same, and keep our hearts to God only.

Answ[er.] It is certain that the profane brood of the cursed Familists do hold that religion standeth not in outward things, and therefore, outwardly they will submit unto any, be the same never so false and vile, pretending that it is not the body which can sin, but the soul only.

The name of them I know is generally *odious, although their principles are loved and practised too well. But that no good man may fall into this snare, let it be considered,

[*First.*] The Lord hath created soul and body, and by Christ they are both redeemed; therefore it is necessary that we should honour him with the whole man, for how else should the whole enjoy glory and immortality hereafter. If a wife should prostrate her body to the use of another man, shall she be excused towards her husband by saying that she reserved him most dear in her heart? No, surely. If this be no reasonable excuse, much less the other.

[*Secondly.*] It ought to be always our care so to live as others thereby may have cause to glorify God; but this cannot be if our visible conversation be idolatrous.

[*Thirdly.*] This is a practice taken up merely to avoid the cross of Christ; and therefore, such doing bewrayeth self-love, infidelity, fearfulness, &c.; sins which God will punish men extremely for.

[*Fourthly.*] "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin;" but no man can in faith be present at that worship which he condemneth, and therefore the action must necessarily be evil.

[*Fifthly.*] The ignorant, by this means are hardened in sin; for, when they shall see one that hath much knowledge to be present at idolatrous service, they immediately think the better of it, and are the less willing to receive the love of the truth that they may be saved. We would

* [120]

I Cor. vi.
19, 20.

Rivetus in
Hos. iv. ve.
15 and 17.
p. 156, 158.
An Admo-
nition of
Cœlius Se-
cundus
Curio to
all faithf.
Christi.
Mat. v. 16.
Scarpus
Symphon.
Proph. 238.

Gal. vi. 12.

Rev. xxi. 8.

Rom. xiv.
23.

Luke xvii.
1, 2.
Calv. in
Psal. xvi. 4.
pa. 60.

think him a cruel and most inhuman creature which should lay wood or stones in a blind man's way, at which he falls and breaks his neck: yet they do worse who by their evil example strengthen *their neighbours in idolatry, * [121] for by this means the soul and body perisheth utterly.

[*Sixthly.*] This practice cannot possibly please the Lord, it being wholly against his revealed will: and therefore the faithful in all ages have always done otherwise.

[*Seventhly.*] The Lord in this life, hath executed sundry fearful judgments upon divers persons, for allowing in body that false worship, which in heart they condemned; as Hofmaster in Germany, Spiera in Italy, Mr. Hales in England, all these died desperately, and are left for warnings: that no man sin against his conscience, lest he find it to be a hell upon earth, when he expects consolation and peace from it.

Object[ion the Second.] But we keep close to God in other walking.

Ans[wer First.] There are many doubtless in the land, very strict in the duties of the [second] table, and in the private and personal exercises of the first also, so far as they can go with good leave: but what of all this, yet so long as upon knowledge they share their service betwixt Christ and antichrist, they cannot by any promise of scripture assure their souls of God's acceptation thereof in Christ.

[*Secondly.*] Sound comfort flows from sincere obedience: and therefore whosoever stocks himself,⁹ in any the least parts of the revealed will of God, he is as Jehu, rotten at the best, even when he manifesteth most show of religion.

⁹ ["Stocks himself"—accords with Shakspeare's "who stocked my servant?" that is to say, who has by

shameful confinement prevented him from performing his duty.—*King Lear*, Act ii. scene 4.]

Bucer in Psal. xvi. 4. p. 102.

Mat vi. [24—34.] II Cor. vi. 17, &c. Ps. xvi. 4. Dan. iii. 16. [—27.] I Kings xix. 18.

Mark it well.

See Park.
of the
Cross, l. i.
p. 156,
157, &c.
Pet. Mart.
loc. com.
p. 1125.

• [122]

[*Thirdly.*] Where there is the true love and zeal of God, nothing can be endured of antichrist's,^r nor not the name of any thing that belongeth to him, or is defiled by his polluted members, there I say will be no countenance given to his *idolatry, much less any conformity to the least of his beastly devices, and therefore those which bow the knee to that idol book, want the love and zeal of God, specially if they know it to be the pope's creature, although they carry themselves strict and precise in some other respects.

Object[ion the Third.] But we are persuaded herein we do well.

Ans[wer First.] So do [are] the Papists, Arians, and other heretics, yet are their courses cursed and abominable.

[*Secondly.*] Our duty is to prove all things, and only to hold that fast which we have found by evident testimony of scripture to be good and lawful.

1 Thess. i. v.
21.

[*Thirdly.*] As a man that is out of his way, and supposeth otherwise, makes his journey so much the worse, so those which practise false worship and yet know it not, are in a condition the more dangerous: and therefore it is necessary that men examine the ground of their persuasion, whether the same be right and sound or no.

Object[ion the Fourth.] Howbeit this worship is not as good as it should be, yet we think it is not so bad but it may be lawfully used.

Ans[wer First.] We have showed from the Nonconformists' writings, that the authors of it were the popes, which were all antichrists, now whatsoever comes from them (they say) cometh first from the devil, and out of the bottomless pit.

T. C. lib. i.
pag. 204.

* ["Which [love] if we bear to our heavenly husband in any good measure, we will entertain no policy to spare to ransom: all things that

are of antichrist are held to be Roman abominations."—*Park[er on the] Cross*, l. i. pp. 156, 157.]

[*Secondly.*] They further affirm that there is no idolatry Canaanitish, paganish, Jewish, or what else soever, worse than popish: neither shall any suffer greater plagues than such which offend this way.^a

Park. of the Cross, l. i. 37, 38.
Curt. Catechism of Christian Rel. pag. 315, 316.
Am. iv. 4, 5.
* [123]
See Bren- tius on the place.

[*Thirdly.*] Whosoever partakes in the sins of Rome, are surely under *the same curse, for we cannot in any sort communicate with them in their errors, unless we will bear them company in their destruction also.

[*Fourthly.*] It is a dangerous thing to do any false worship, because thereby men's transgression are multiplied, and the devil and not God is certainly served.

Pisent. in 1 Cor. x. 21.
Pareus id.

[*Objection the Fifth.*] The law of the land is, that all should come to hear this service, and therefore they will be punished which refuse to do so.

Ans[er First.] Human authority is not to be obeyed, if it command any thing against God: therefore "every man is to look to himself, that he communicate not with the evils of the time, enduring patiently what it shall please the state to inflict"^t upon him.

Act. iv. 39.
Protestat. of the King. Sup. pag. 18

[*Secondly.*] In cases of this nature, grace is best tried: for as the skill of a mariner is most seen in a tempest, and the courage of a soldier in a fight, so our faith, sincerity, obedience, &c., is best discerned by the care which we take to leave such sins, and practise such duties, as lie most open to afflictions.

[*Thirdly.*] We have a promise, that all things shall work together for our good: therefore if we suffer for Christ, our wise Father will so dispose of it, as it shall serve to help us forward, in the holy way to life and glory.

Rom. viii. 28.

[*Object[ion the Sixth.]* We shall be charged with sedition, schism, heresy, obstinacy, &c., if we go not to it.

^a Park[er on the] Cross, l. i. pp. 37, 38.]

^t [Protestation of the King's Supremacy, by Bradshaw,] p. 18, [or section 30, of ed. 1660, C. S. L.]

Eze. iv. 5.
 Amo. vii.
 10.
 Dan. iii.
 Luc. xxiii.
 25.
 Joh xix. 12.
 Act. vii. 6;
 xxiv. 5.

Answ[er First.] They do no more against you in this thing, than hath been done against our ancients and betters, in former times: for so were the prophets used, so was Christ and his apostles served by the Jews, for restraining their feet from iniquity, and serving God purely.

* [124]

[Secondly.] It is a *great comfort to the godly, against all the reproaches and censures of the world, that their hearts are open and manifest in the sight of God, and that they are able to approve before him their own uprightness; for such need not fear the calumination of men, who have the Lord to approve the actions which they do.

[Thirdly.] We have a gracious Lord and Saviour for our judge, who will reward us one day for our obedience towards him, let men speak of us what evil pleaseth them.

Object[ion the Seventh.] We shall quite lose the love of our friends, if we refuse to join with them in this worship.

Answ[er First.] That love and friendship will never do a man good, which is purchased with the loss of God's favour; he hath love enough whom God loveth, and who-soever is not beloved of God is in a miserable condition, what reckoning soever the world makes of him.

Ps. xxvii.
 10.

[Secondly.] Thou shalt not be forsaken of Christ, if thou be for his sake left of friends. "Though my father and mother (saith David) should forsake me, yet Jehovah would gather me." He meaneth that God would be a father unto him, and so his condition should be good enough.

Isa. xlix.
 15.
 Mat. xix.
 29.

Object[ion the eighth.] But our fear is, if we should separate ourselves from this false worship, that we shall not be able to bear the troubles which will follow there-upon.

Answ[er First.] If your hearts be perfect with God, fear none of those things which you shall suffer; for

Rev ii. 10.

surely he will either keep you out of troubles, or preserve you safely in them, and make way thereby for your greater happiness: so long as a father carefully leads the child in his own *hand it needs not fear of falling, how weak of * [125] foot soever it be: the Lord by the right hand of his power evermore upholdeth his people, and therefore they may be persuaded, that no adversary's strength shall ever be able to pluck them away from him. I Cor. x. 13.
Joh. x. 28.

It remains now that I speak a few words unto you, which are professors in England: you see how your stinted service, devised by the b[ishops,] and translated from the mass, is affirmed by your own writers, to be a false and forged worship; and that it is even so, I appeal to many of your consciences: for why do you loath to use the same in your families, but because you know it is not the incense made by fire from the altar of the Lord. I will purposely forbear to relate the innumerable, odious, and base terms, which you (upon all occasions) cast forth deservedly against it, only I do exhort you, to be true to your own grounds, and conscionably to practise that which yours have published to the world. If our servants do that thing which we forbid them, and which they know is most hateful to us, they are punished severely for it, and justly too. The Eng[lish] mass you know, is an abomination to the Lord, and his commandment precisely is, that you should not partake therewith: now if you will not hearken to his voice, what may you fear? Truly that his fierce wrath will fall heavily upon you. If the Separatists only had found fault with that book, your communicating therewith were somewhat tolerable; but seeing yourselves acknowledge it to be a devised service, oh! think how altogether inexcusable *this your practice is now before God; in truth it cannot but provoke him to sore displeasure, considering how grossly those do mock him, which profess one thing and do another. I have been
an ear-wit-
ness here-
of many
times.
* [126]

II Cor. vi.
17, 18.

I would know what assurance you can have that God is your father, seeing his promise is not to be our father, but upon this condition, that we touch no polluted thing: in words you confess that Liturgy to be an unclean thing, can you then touch it, and yet believe upon good ground of scripture, that you are his sons and daughters in Christ; I spare to speak mine own thoughts: but I wish you to look well unto it. It may be you think your disliking thereof is sufficient, but in truth God loves no half servants. He that should go and lie down in bed with an harlot and give her the defiance, sinned notwithstanding: even so how disdainfully soever you either speak or write against that idol, yet are you still trespassers so long as you prostrate your souls unto it; be therefore sincere, and plain in God's matters, so shall you have peace and comfort in the latter end.

* [127]

Marvel not that I am thus earnest with you, alas, how can I choose? the love of God constraineth me, and truly it grieves my very soul, to think of the great number among them which are enlightened, and in their own conscience fully convinced of this truth, viz., that their service-book is unlawful and antichristian, and yet partake in the filthiness thereof; surely these do not consider, that there is no sin in the eye of the Lord more hateful than idolatry: for as *a man will bear with much frowardness and unkindness in his wife, but not suffer her at any hand to commit whoredom, so God will bear with many sins in men, but he cannot endure idolatry, spiritual whoredom and adultery; this seldom or never escapeth some sensible and visible punishment.

D. Sclater
upon Rom.
chap. i.
ver. 22.
p. 110, 113.

I will here end this chapter with the words of a learned conformist. "It is not enough to worship God, except we give him such worship as is seemly for his Deity, which Paul calls glorifying God as God, and if any ask, what

this meet worship is, here spoken of? it is when God is worshipped according to his will; secondly, with worship agreeable to his nature (viz.) spiritual. In this thing therefore let us deny our own carnal wisdom, and cleave precisely to the word of God. How unmeet is it that fleshly wisdom, which is an enemy unto God, should be a framer of his worship? how unprofitable is will-worship; yea, how abominable to add or alter the least circumstance in the worship of God? And howsoever there may be a show of wisdom in voluntary religion, Col. iii. 23, yet being rightly weighed, all the devices of men shall be found foolish, vain, yea more than sottish in the judgment of God.”

Rom. viii. 5.
Mat. xv. 8.
Levit. x.
1, 2.

CHAPTER III.

[A NECESSITY FOR SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND
PROVED BY CORRUPTIONS WHICH NONCONFORMIST WRITERS
HAVE EXPOSED IN ITS GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE.]

[INTRODUCTION.]

IN this chapter we will speak of church government, observing the former method, that is,

First. I will show how the Nonconformists do describe a right ecclesiastical discipline.

[*Secondly.*] How far the present ecclesiastical discipline of England, by their own *testimony differs from, and is * [128] contrary to it.

[*Thirdly.*] Lay down responsive conclusions.

[*Fourthly.*] Answer to D[octor] Ames's objections, and others, which may seem to be against the same.

[SECTION I.]

[A TRUE ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE, AS DESCRIBED BY NON-CONFORMIST WRITERS THEMSELVES.]

It is certain that Christ (our heavenly prophet) hath set forth unto us in the New Testament the ordinary form and manner of ordering churches; for this sundry reasons are given:

[*First.*] Otherwise the church (which is his body) should be left maimed,^a imperfect, and void of some special furtherances, and helps for her edification and perfection, but this cannot be.

Protest.
from Scot.
18.

[*Secondly.*] We read that under the law, the Lord by Moses ordained a certain form which was not altered, nor to be altered by any king or priest whatsoever: yea, from the beginning of the world, even from Adam to Christ, this ordinance the saints ever had, as agreed best with thattime for which it is served; and therefore it cannot be, but that Christ, coming in his own person, (who was the Day Star and Sun of Righteousness, from whence all others borrowed their light) must needs teach his church a certain government for the safety and good thereof.

Def. Eccl.
Discip ag.
Brid. 14, 15.

[*Thirdly.*] We must either confess this, or else spoil Christ of his kingly office: for what doth more belong unto the name, office, and duty of a king, than to give laws unto his citizens and subjects, and to make such decrees and ordinances whereby all the parts of his kingdom may be maintained?

Neces.
Disc. 5, 7.

Demonst.
Disc. p. 2.

[*Fourthly.*] That which teacheth every good way, teach-

^a [Protest. from Scotland, p. 18, [D. W. L. copy.]

eth also how the church must be governed: but the word of God teacheth every good way, *Pro. ii. 9; therefore * [129] it teacheth how the church must be governed.^v

[*Fifthly.*] No human form is sufficient, or able, to govern the church of Christ, wherein so many diseases are to be healed, and businesses to be despatched, for the good of men's souls, and preserving the people of God, and upholding the kingdom of Christ.^w

[*Sixthly.*] The church is the house of God, therefore it is not to be supposed, since he requires us to set our families in order, and he among men is counted a careless unthrift that leaves his servants to do what they list, that he will himself neglect to give order how both steward and children, and servants should be dealt withal. Besides these reasons, the Nonconformists allege the testimonies of the learned to prove the position;^x yea, some of the prelates' best champions. D[octo]r Bilson (who was bishop sometime of Winchester) saith thus: "We must not frame what kind of regiment we list for the ministers of Christ's church, but rather observe and mark what manner of external government the Lord hath best liked and allowed in his church from the beginning."^y

And as this ecclesiastical power is common to all churches, and ought to be in all, forasmuch as they are

Cypri. in
Serm. de
Bapt. Christ.
Cyp. de Pre-
scrip. Ad-
vers. Hær.

Ignat. in
Ep. Tral.
Jerom. in
Isa. iii.
Aug. Epi.
137.
Amb. in
I Tim. v.
Cypri. l. i.
Epist. 8.
D. Bils.
Perpetu.
Govern.
pag. 3.
Nec. Dis. 7.
M. Bates
147.
Dioeces.
Trial. 8.
Protest.
King. Sup.
12, 13.

^v [Demonst[ration of] Dis[cipline,] p. 2, [found on pp. 13, 14, in D. W.L. copy.]

^w ["O Lord, thou commandest me to obey thy beloved Son. We give thee thanks that thou hast commended us to his governance."—*Cyprian on the Baptism of Christ*. [Works ed. Parisii, 1564, p. 381. See also the Sentences of Eighty-seven Bishops on the Baptizing of Heretics.—*Ibid.* p. 219.]

^x [Jerome on Isaiah iii. Ignatius' Epistle ad Tralianos, [5—8.] Augustini Epistola, 137. Works by Fræbin, vol. ii.]

^y ["For we hold that Christ alone is the Doctor of the church in matters of religion, and that the word of Christ which he hath given unto his church is of absolute perfection, containing in it all parts of the true religion, both for substance and for ceremony, and a perfect direction in all ecclesiastical

all independent bodies, and have privileges alike, so it is confined and bound within the limits only of one particular congregation, and the greatest power ought not to stretch beyond the same, for in truth it is a great wickedness for any person, or persons, to take upon themselves ecclesiastical jurisdiction over many churches, much more over whole kingdoms² and *provinces of people.^a Touching the order or carriage for the execution of it, this government is committed to a fellowship or company of elders, consisting of lawful and true pastors, elders, and deacons, by whose common advice, according to the precise rule of the scriptures, both the rest of the church ought to be governed, and all church matters also ordered and determined, reserving always that liberty which God hath given to his church.^b Of the election and ordination of these officers we spake in the first chapter; this only may be added, that if any of these shall sin, he is as subject to the censures of the rest as any other member of the congregation. If they shall all sin scandalously, either in the execution of their office, or in any other ordinary manner, then the congrega-

* [130]

Tab. Divi.
Read. in
Camb.Offer for
Confer. 2.
Prot. Kin.
Sup. p. 15.Mark and
make use of
this, you
that stand
under a self-
wild Dio-
trephes.

matters whatsoever, unto and from which it is not lawful for any man or angel to add or to detract."—*A Protestation of the King's Supremacy*, sec. xxii., by Bradshaw, ed. 1660.]

² ["There is no ordinance of God for this, that can be showed that churches within such a circuit should be laid to a certain head church for government."]

"Those churches which Christ did ordain and the apostles plant, might ordinarily assemble to the ordinances of worship, but a diocesan church cannot ordinarily assemble; therefore" [a diocesan church is not a church of Christ.]—*Dioceses' Trial*, p. 8.]

^a ["We confine and bound all ec-

clesiastical power within the limits only of one particular congregation, holding that the greatest ecclesiastical power ought not to reach beyond the same; and that it is arrogating princely supremacy for any ecclesiastical person, or persons whosoever, to take upon themselves ecclesiastical jurisdiction over many churches, much more over whole kingdoms and provinces of Christianity."—*A Protest[ation of the] King's Sup[remacy, by Bradshaw]*, pp. 12, 13, [ed. 1660. C. S. L.]

^b [A Christian and Modest] Offer for Conference, &c., p. 2. D. W. L. copy, 1606.]

tion that chose them freely, hath as free power to depose them, and to place others in their room.^c

And because the use of this church government serves for to reform abuses, the brethren therefore are to watch one over another; and when any one sinneth, if the offence be private, he must be admonished thereof secretly, and by the person alone which knows it; for except it be of necessity, the fame of our brother is not to be hurt, his mind provoked, his offence enlarged, neither suspicion of reproach and defamation needlessly published forth against him; but if he refuse to hearken, then two or three other members must be taken for the purpose, and such as have best judgment, most ability to persuade, and in greatest estimation with the offender; and here again *love is * [131] showed, seeing his amendment is still sought for, and not his disgrace. If he will not yet acknowledge his offence, then must he be brought unto the church, and there again be lovingly admonished, and soundly convinced of his fault, but if he be still incorrigible, and will not be brought by any means to repentance, then (after long forbearance, much waiting, and great patience, with grief and sorrow of the whole church), in the name of our Lord Jesus, he is to be cast out of the church,^d and given over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, and to be held as a heathen and publican. But if the offence be public, there is no use of private admonition; but it must openly be rebuked and admonished, yet so that the same be done circumspectly, seasoned with gravity, love, meekness, &c., always aiming at the offender's safety, and not his destruction. And special care is to be had of every weak offender, with discretion of

This is Christ commandment, woe there-fore to such as know so much and do neglect it. D. Am. de Cons. l. xiv. c. xxix. pag. 236. Cartw. Hist. Christ. l. ii. p. 357.

Protest. from Scot. 33, 34.

^c [A Protestation of the King's Supremacy, by Bradshaw,] p. 15, [but in the editor's copy, printed 1669, section xxvi.] [Offer for Conference,

&c., p. 2.]

^d [Protest[ation, &c., from Scot-land,] pp. 33, 34. [D. W. . copy.]

offences. If for all this he remain incorrigible, then must the church proceed against him as before.

Engl. Pur.
29.

* [132]

Id. 28.

Def. Pet.
for Refor.
198.

Yet let it be minded, that no church governors may, upon any secret informations, or suggestions, or private suspicions, go about to bind men's consciences to accuse themselves of such crimes and imputations as cannot by God's word plainly be proved against them, for such a course is most damnable and tyrannous, and against the very law of nature, devised by antichrist, through the inspiration of the devil.^e Moreover, they "ought with all patience and quietness to hear what every offender can possibly say for himself, either for qualification, *defence, apology, or justification of any supposed crime or error whatsoever, and they ought not to proceed to censure the grossest offence that is, until the offender have said as much for himself, [in his defence,] as he possibly is able. [And they hold] it is an evident character of a corrupt ecclesiastical government, where the parties convented may not have full liberty to speak for themselves, considering that the more liberty is granted to speak in a bad cause (especially before those that are in authority and of judgment), the more the iniquity of it will appear, and the more the justice of their sentence will shine."^f

Again, excommunication must not be used but as the

* ["They [the Puritans] held that the oath *ex officio*, whereby popish and English ecclesiastical governors, either upon some secret informations, or suggestions, or private suspicions, go about to bind men's consciences to accuse themselves and their friends of such crimes or imputations as cannot by any direct course of law be proved against them, and whereby they are drawn to be instruments of many heavy crosses upon themselves and

their friends, and that often for those actions that they are persuaded in their consciences are good and holy. . . They hold that such an oath (on the urger's part) is most damnable and tyrannous, against the very laws of nature, [and] devised by antichrist, through the inspiration of the devil." — *Eng[lish] Pur[itanism]*, by Wm. Bradshaw, printed in English 1604, and 1660, chap. v. sec. 7.]

^f [Ibid, chap. v. section. 6.]

last and desperate remedy,^c even as a surgeon trieth all gentle means before lancing, searing, or cutting off. Indeed, if the cause be great, weighty, and necessary, then it may not be omitted.^h Reasons.

First. For the glory of God, that it may appear his house to be no cage of unclean birds, no sty of swine, no den of thieves, no stew or brothel-house; but the holy city, the seat and throne of justice, the temple of the living God, where the chaste virgin worshippeth, and where no Canaanite may be suffered.

[*Secondly.*] That the worship and service of God may be kept and preserved from pollution, contempt, and profanation.ⁱ

[*Thirdly.*] For the good of the sinner himself, that he may see his fault, be ashamed thereof, and reconcile himself first to God, and then unto the church against whom he offended, and so be saved in the day of the Lord. So long as a harlot hath freely the society of chaste matrons, she takes no shame of her adultery; but when all honest women reject her, then at last, &c. [she is made to feel the nature of her crime.] *So a thief, if he be suffered to converse still with true men, to have his liberty in city and country to the full, he will not be ashamed of his robberies, murders, &c., but, &c. [when shunned by honest men he learns to appreciate the confidence he has betrayed.] It is just so in this cause. If open sinners be suffered in

M. Perk.
vol. iii. upon
Jud. 388.
Lear. Dis.
Ec. Discip.
92.
Isa. xxxv. 8.
Za. xiv. 21.
Joel ii. 17.
Rev. xxi.
ult.
Psa. ci.
Cartw. His-
tor. Christ.
l. ii. 359.
Neces. Disc.
96.

Perk. upon
Creed. vol.
iii. 212.

I Cor. v. 9.
II Thess. iii.
14.
II Cor. vi.
Tayl. upon
Tit. iii. 10.

* [133]

Cartw. in
the place
before.

^c ["God forbid that the sword of excommunication should be drawn out to cut off the members of our body for every small disease that is in them, but only when the disease is deadly, and the member rotted thereby."—A] *Lear[ned] Dis[course of] Ec[clesiastical] Discip[line]*, p. 92. [D. W. L. copy.]

^h ["When gentle means will not

serve to reclaim men, it is the will of God that terrible means should be used, if by any means they may be pulled out of the fire."—*Perkins on Jude, Works*, vol. iii. p. 588, ed. fol. 1618, collected in 1635.]

ⁱ [Perkins's, Wm., *Exposition of the Creed, Works*, vol. i. p. 304—307, fol. ed. 1635.]

the church, and admitted to public and private communion in the exercises of religion, certainly then (though they declare their sin as Sodom, and hide it not yet) they will not be ashamed of it, but rather think they have not sinned, or it is so light and small as they need not make any matter thereof.

[*Fourthly.*] The honour and the good name of the church is hereby preserved, which would be lost if vile persons were left alone therein.

[*Fifthly.*] That others may fear; for if this course be omitted, it may be a means to embolden many to do the like.

Deu. xvii.
12.
Heb. xii.
[15—17,] 25.

Perk. on the
Cr. vol. iii.
pag. 212.
Cartw. lib.
ii.
Hist. Christ.
358.
First Boo.
Discip. p. 52.

A member being thus justly excommunicated, he is not to partake in the spiritual good things which the Lord communicateth in his church, as the sacraments, prayer, &c., yet he may be admitted to the hearing of the word, because that is a means to humble him for his sin, and to bring him to repentance, which is the end of all ecclesiastical censures. Moreover, the rest of the faithful must avoid all kind of familiar conversation with him, be it in eating, drinking, buying, and selling, yea, in saluting and talking with him, so far as they are not bound unto him in any of the bands of civil right and society.^j I add this, because excommunication unlooseth it not, but such as are of the family or affinity must perform all duties to such a one, which such a relation hath made his due, the husband * to the wife, and the wife to the husband, the child to the father, the servant to the master, &c. So an excommunicate magistrate remaineth a magistrate still, and must of all Christians so be acknowledged. Besides, all lawful contracts and promises must be kept and performed with him, and works of mercy showed to him if there be just

• [134]

Tall. upon
Tit. ch. iii.
v. 10. p.
709, 710.

^j [Perk[ins] on the Cr[eed,] vol. iii. pag. 212, [or p. 304, 307, vol. i. fol. edition, 1635.]

and necessary cause. If the offender afterwards shall see his sin,^k and desire to be taken again into the communion of the saints, the church is to assent thereto willingly, yet so as the party make public repentance, according to the proportion of the offence. A verbal profession of repentance sufficeth not, for so the most holy institutions of God are exposed to the mockage of the wicked, and the action of the church placed only in an outward form. Therefore such evidences are required which in the judgment of charity do declare true and sincere repentance, and which serve as probable witnesses of the thing.

Be it here specially noted, that excommunication^l and the absolution or reconciliation of the excommunicate are actions common to the whole church,^m and not of any private person or persons; for howsoever the elders, for the peace, profit, and good order of the church, are to administer these ordinances, yet the whole church must give their consent freely hereto.ⁿ In the apostles' time, and after, till the year 250, every man that was a member of the church, had in the church his voice in ecclesiastical censures, causes, and determinations of the church. Christ doth *not say, when there is cause of accusing or censuring

^k [Protest from Scotland, p. 35. [D. W. L. copy.]

^l ["The Jesuits would fain tie this key of excommunication to the bishop's girdle alone; which is against the mind of our Saviour Christ."]—*Carl[wright] Ref[utation of the] Rhe[mist] Test[ament]*, Matt. xviii. 18. *Dr. Ames, De Conscientia*, book iv. c. xxix. p. 338.]

^m [Excommunication] "may not be done but upon great and weighty occasions.

"Secondly. It may not be done by any one man, but by the eldership,

the whole church consenting thereunto. — *T. C.* book i. p. 183, 184. *Eccles. Discip.* p. 130." In *Demonstration of* *Discip[line]*, pp. 97, 98, [or p. 81. D. W. L. copy.]

ⁿ ["We hold that if any member shall be delinquent, they [the officers] are brotherly to admonish him, showing him the nature of his crime by the word of God; and if, after two or three admonitions, he show no tokens of sorrow and penitency, then are they to deny unto him the pledges and seals of the church, to wit, the sacraments. If this cannot humble him,

Protest. from Sco. p. 35.

D. Am. De Consc. l. iv. c. xxix. II Adm. 59. T. C. l. i. 184.

Tail. Tit. iii. 10, 712.

See Abstr. p. 165 to 205.

Cart. Ref. Rh. Test.

Mat. xviii. sect. 7.

D. Am. de Cons. l. iv. c. xxix. 238.

Protest. King. Sup.

p. 14. Discip. Eccles. 130.

Demonst. Discip. p. 97, 98, &c.

Crown. Christ. Mart.

p. 10. Lear. D. Ec. 6, 99.

Discourse of Abus. in the Ch. 88, 89, &c.

* [135] See Aretius in Mat. xviii. v. 17.

Mr. Jacob.
Art. 6.
I Adm. 6.

Fall of Bab.
16.

Cypr. lib. iii.
Ep. 10 and
Epist. 14 and
19.

August. lib.
iii. cont.
Epist. Per-
menn.

Jerom. ad

Demet.

Epist. 1.

Bucer de

Reg. Ch. l. i.

chap. ix.

Calv. Inst.

l. iv. cap. xi.

sect. 6.

Ursin. Cat.

para ii. pag.

532.

Curt. Chu.

Pow. 54.

Fall of Ba-

bel, 30, 31.

any, tell the bishop, but tell the church;^o and accordingly in the times of the apostles,^p and long after, as the epistles of Cyprian do manifest, they were judged by the word in an assembly of presbyters and brethren, as the incestuous Corinthian, which shows us that neither one man, nor the presbyters alone, were judges in such causes, but [the] church, which by scriptures either cleared or censured any person accused, as by the word of God he appeared either guilty or not guilty, &c. Many reasons are yielded by the Nonconformists to prove this thing, and all objections made against it soundly answered, and the testimonies of the learned alleged for it, as the reader may see largely in their books named in the margin. The like they speak touching the admission of any member into the communion of the church. That person which is to be joined, ought publicly to come before the face of the congregation, and there to be examined of his faith, knowledge, &c.; and being found meet by the general consent of the people, he is joyfully received. But of this more hereafter.^q

but that he continue obstinate in that sin, then they are by the mouth of the minister in congregation (*the whole church consenting freely thereto*)" [to] "denounce him to be no member of the kingdom of heaven."—*Protest[ation of the] King's Sup[remacy]*,] p. 14. [By Bradshaw, published in 1605, reprinted 1660.] [*II Adm[onition to Parliament]*, &c., D. W. L. copy, p.] 59.]

^o [Reasons Taken out of God's Word, &c., Proving the Necessity of Reforming our Churches in England. By Henry Jacob.] Art. [Reason,] 6. [pp. 44, 45, D. W. L. copy.]

^p [I Adm[onition, described p. 104, p.] 6.]

^q ["Antichrist hath set up a tyrannical jurisdiction of one bishop to be

judge of excommunication, which is practised neither for causes sufficient, nor by sufficient authority, in so much as it hath been already testified by the scripture, that the power of excommunication is in no one man, no not in an apostle, but is common to the whole church, and ought to be executed by lawful delegates of the church also. But so much that usurped authority presumeth, that the bishop, as an absolute owner thereof, committeth it over to his chancellor or archdeacon, the archdeacon to his official, and he to his registrar, and he again to his substitute, and his substitute to his servants, man or boy, as it happeneth; in so

Moreover, if the ecclesiastical officers shall refuse to do their duty, yet may the brethren notwithstanding perform church actions, and the same are to be esteemed good and lawful.^r To come unto a conclusion, this form of church government here described, is unchangeable, ordinary, best, and perpetual, common to all true churches, and to which all states must be subject, as well the rulers as they that are ruled; yea, and the *preachers themselves, as well as the poor within the church; and good reason, for the same is not a thing indifferent, as some think, but a point of the gospel, yea, of the substance thereof, a matter of faith, and “of necessity to salvation.” I mean “in such an absolute degree of necessity as is of any ordinary outward means,” especially to every church, and by consequence to every soul in it. And, therefore, as no commonwealth can flourish, or long endure without good laws and sharp execution of the same, so neither can the church of God be brought to purity, neither yet continue in the same, without the use and exercise of this ordinance, but lies open to all danger and confusion.

Whatsoever the Nonconformists have here said about church government, we, for our parts, assent wholly to it, and, through God's mercy towards us, do comfortably enjoy the same, and wish unfeignedly that there were in them such zeal of God, and love of his house and ordinances, as to practise once themselves the good duties which they well teach others to do.

much that a learned preacher may be excommunicated by a foolish boy. If this matter seem not to require speedy reformation, God hath blinded our eyes that we cannot see the clear light of the sun shining in our faces.”

—*A Learned Discourse of Ecclesiastical Discipline*, p. 99, D. W. L. copy.]

^r [Hist[ory of the] Troub[les of] Fran[kfort, p.] 66. In the Phoenix, D. W. L.]

His. Trob.
Fran. 62.
Ans. to
Bridg. 132.
Neces. Dis.
7.
Park. de
Pol. Ecc. l.
i. c. xv. p. 4.
* [136]
Def. Disc.
p. 16, 38.
First book
Disc. p. 54.
T. C. l. i. 48.
Park. de Pol.
Ec. l. i. p. 33.
Def. Disc.
pag. 33.
Fall Bab. 17.

First book
Disc. 50.

SECTION II.

[THE DEPARTURE FROM TRUE ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AS EXHIBITED AND PROVED BY NONCONFORMIST WRITERS.]

The Nonconformists, in the former section, gave us a good description of a true church government, now let us hear what they say of their own in England, and compare them together. In this (as in the rest) we shall find great confusion,¹ and, therefore, lest the reader should lose himself, I will observe some order in the handling of it, and,

¹ No marvel, seeing the matter is of Babylon.

* [137]

First. Speak of their *ecclesiastical officers.

[*Secondly.*] Of their laws, by which they govern.

[*Thirdly.*] Of their courts, where they be executed.

And, lastly, of the manner how they are executed. And of all these briefly, entreating still the reader to get their books if he be not herewith fully satisfied.

[FIRST: *Of their Ecclesiastical Officers.*] In the first chapter [section the third], we were showed what their bishops are; now something here is to be said of their dependant officers, which most wickedly under them minister the ecclesiastical discipline of their church, namely, commissaries, chancellors,² archdeacons, officials, registrars, proctors, doctors, sumners, and the rest of that viperous generation; all these the Nonconformists say are greedy [as] cormorants,³ servile varlets, a horned generation, base

I Adm. 17.
Alt. Dam.
145.
P. Print
before
T. C. l. i.

² ["Therefore if chancellors, commissaries, and officials, be not elders of the church; if they have no warrant from Jesus Christ the head of the church; if their names, offices, and practice be derived from antichrist; if their office compel them (being inferiors) to tyrannize over their supe-

riors; if they live only by the faults and vices of men; then it must needs follow, that this church of God ought not to be governed by them."]—*Demons[tration of] Dis[cipline]*, p. 40, 41. D. W. L.]

³ [I Adm[onition, &c. D. W. L. copy, p. 16,] 17.]

fellows, trash, the offspring of Romish babel, murderous beasts, the scourges of all God's people, ravening rabblers," which thrust away most sacrilegiously that order which Christ hath left to his church, and proudly tyrannize over their superiors. "The Papist is on their side, because he can shelter himself under them to hide his idolatry; the Atheist is tooth and nail for them, because by them he enjoyeth carnal liberty; the man of most notorious life defendeth them, because he can from them redeem the corporal punishment of his sins by money; at a word,"^u all the rank adulterers, common drunkards, unthrifths, ruffians, horrible swearers, and despisers of God's word, take part with them;^w and no marvel, seeing these, for the most part, are all Papists, and besides either bribers, drunkards, epicures, &c.; so unmeet to be governors, as indeed they ought not to be members at all *in any reformed church. Justly, therefore, are they said to be the root and cause of all the ignorance, atheism, schisms, and treasons in the land,^x the nurses and cherishers of recusants and other heretics, and of all the great iniquities and abominations that are committed therein; especially in regard

Alt. Da. 35.
Pref. Ref.
Answ. to
Bancr.
Alt. Da. 35.
I Adm. 15.
Demons.
Dis. 40.
Dialog. St.
Chur. 13.

Dial. Strif.
Chur. 125.
I Adm. 17.
Demonst.
Disc. 76.
T. C. l. i.
188.
Demonst.
Discip.
Preface.

* [138]

De Eccles.
Disc. 137.

Demonst.
Disc. 40.

^u [I Adm[onition, &c. D. W. L. copy, p] 15.]

^v [Dialog[ue on the] St[ate of the] Chur[ch of England,] p. 13; [or p. 351, in "Part of a Register," &c. D. W. L.]

^w ["This thing is so manifest that, shortly they must lay aside all pretence of the gospel and of the peace of the church, and say plainly we fought for our own estate. And I pray ye, let me go a little further; was it ever seen that all the filthy men of the world, and such as are rotten in their sins, did take part with Christ, with his apostles, or with the godly who suc-

ceeded them? Will the soldiers of Satan seek to uphold the kingdom of Christ? go through the land, take a view, if ye find not this let me lose my life; namely, that all the rank, adulterous, common drunkards, unthrifths, ruffians, and horrible swearers, despisers of the word of God, do take part with the bishops, and cry, 'Down with these rebel Puritans.'"—*Dial[ogue concerning the] Strife [of the] Church*, p. 125. D. W. L. copy, printed 1584.] [*I Adm[onition, &c. D. W. L. copy,*] p. 17.]

^x [Demonst[ration of] Disc[ipline. Preface.]

Sold. Bar.
 Sion's Plea,
 135, 136.
 Fresh Suit.
 l. ii. 406.
 Learn. Dis.
 Ecc. Gov.
 99, 100.
 Neces. Dis.
 8, 9.
 Def. Pet.
 for Ref.
 40, 236.
 Offer.
 Conf. p. 2.
 Confer.
 p. 131.
 Thank.
 ack. p. 2.
 Alt. Dam.
 42, 47.
 Abstr. 36,
 and 228.
 D. Strif.
 Chur. 13.
 Mr. Bate,
 104, &c.
 Fall of Ba-
 bel, p. 83.
 Mr. Bate,
 p. 109 to
 115.

“they live by the faults of men,”^y and will rather increase offences (that their gain may increase) than use means to lessen any; and this experience daily showeth.

As for their names and offices,^z it is testified by all the Nonconformists^a that they are all derived from antichrist, and are therefore false, earthly, unlawful; and the discipline which they exercise is not prescribed in God's word,^b never appointed by the Lord Christ, but taken wholly and every part from the pope,^c and used in the time of the greatest darkness under him; yea, and it is defended by the same canons whereby his popedom is supported: so that were it not for the help of the Papists, they have no authority, either from God or man, to help them either by reason or learning.

I may not here omit how the refor[mers] exceedingly condemn the offices of churchwardens and sidesmen, and prove the same to be unlawful and hurtful by many reasons.

^y [Demonst[ration of] Disc[ipline, p.] 40.]

^z [“It is an office (saith [Petrus Blesenses]) of a most damnable stewardship. The word is not derived from *officium*, a service, but from the verb *officio*, I injure :

“A kind of unofficial men there be, Derived from a sharp and cruel stem; *Officio*, to hurt, so hence we see, The word official is a wicked name. They sheer and squeeze, yea pull the skin off the people, . . . They eat and are clothed with the sins of the people.”]

Sion's Plea, p. 135, 136.]

^a [“The second question was about these children of the earth, chancellors, commissaries, and officials, dealing with the keys of Christ's heavenly kingdom, whether they can be found in

the face or body of the primitive church?

The Rej[oinder] answereth plainly and roundly, *no*; yet these human creatures are those that keep most misrule among poor Christian men and ministers also in ecclesiastical censures of *suspension* and *excommunication*, with intolerable *exactions*.”—*Dr. Ames's Fresh Suit*, &c., pt. ii. p. 406.]

^b [“The office and calling of provincial and diocesan prelates is contrary to the word of God.”—*A Christian and Modest Offer for Conference*, p. 2. [D. W. L. copy, 1606.] [This is stated more forcibly in *A*] *Learn[ed] Dis[course of] Ecc[lesiastical] Gov[ernment]*, p. 99, 100. [D. W. L. copy.]

^c [Neces[sity for] Dis[cipline], p. 89, ed. 1574.]

[*First.*] Because they are counterfeits of God's true officers, namely, elders and deacons, which Christ hath left in his church by divine institution.

[*Secondly.*] They retain the mark of the beast in part by serving the tyranny of the hierarchy; so that it is not less warrantable to be a mass-priest than a churchwarden.

[*Thirdly.*] Their functions are devised by men and ^{Sion's Pl. 136, 137, and 315, 316.} *came first from Rome,^d and therefore they cannot expect ^{* [139]} any blessing or protection from God in their courses.

[*Fourthly.*] They are bound to most unlawful conditions; and so necessarily, either they must be perjured, or commit horrible iniquity as to present their minister, if he use not superstitious ceremonies, so those which will not come at their devised service, kneel at the sacrament, have their children crossed and bishoped, women churched, join with the Litany, observe their holy days, &c., and thus they minister matter of filthy lucre to the harpies of the prelates' courts. For these and such like causes, every good man is exhorted not to touch these unclean places, for if he do, he shall surely be defiled therewith. Their collector's calling also they judge unlawful.^e

Dial. St.
Ch. 119.

Learn. Dis.
Ec. Gover.
109, &c.

Thus much of their ecclesiastical officers.^f Now,

^d [Sion's Pl[ea] p. 136, 137, 315, 316. Dial[ogue concerning the] St[ate of the] Ch[urch,] p. 119, [D. W. L. copy.]

^e [Learn[ed] Dis[course of] Ec[clesiastical] Govern[ment, p.] 109. [D. W. L. copy.]

^f ["They that must govern the church of God must have a warrant for their so doing, from Jesus Christ, the Head of the church; but chancellors, &c., have no warrant so to do from Jesus Christ, the Head of the church: therefore the church ought not to be governed by them.

"Those whose names, offices, and practice be derived from antichrist may have nothing to do in the government of the church, for who will suffer his wife to be governed by the master of a brothel-house? But the names, offices, and practices of chancellors, officials, and commissaries be such, which is plain by this, that they have their grounds on that filthy dunghill, the canon law; therefore, they have nothing to do in the government of the church.

"They that being inferiors do proudly tyrannize over their superiors,

I Admo.
Pref.
Sion's Pl.
151.
Repl. to
Mort. 96.
Abst. 19.
Alt. Da. 30.
Mr. Bal.
upon Revel.
xiii. 2.
Bright.
Rev. iii. 195.
Sion's Pl.
31, 36, 37.
Demonstr.
Disc. 77, 78,
79.

[SECONDLY.] For their laws. These by the Nonconformists are said to be foolish articles,^g slavish ordinances, lawless, perilous, popish, wicked, and damnable canons, shameful idols, very devilishness, and hypocrisy; invented by the dragon and antichrist, our Lord's enemies, in the time of popery, without any warrant of God's word; yea, manifestly against it. And for what end serves it now in England? Surely for no other but to strengthen the kingdom of the beast, and the power of darkness and ignorance; to breed treacherous papists; nourish superstition and popery; uphold the cages of unclean birds, as archbishops' and l[ord] b[ishops'] sees, arches, cathedral churches, &c.; and destroy utterly the churches of God, by crossing every faithful minister in the discharge of his duty, and *every good Christian walking in the ways of godliness, and nipping in the head every good action. For these and many the like reasons the Nonconformists have oftentimes desired that all their ecclesiastical decrees, constitutions, provincial and synodal statutes, fatherly customs, &c., might utterly be abandoned, and as froth and filth be spued out of the commonwealth; yea, as infectious and noisome boils^b and sores, sent back to the stinking sinks and channel out of which they were taken.

* [140]

Abstr. 238.

Necessit.
Disci. 8, 9.

ought not to rule the church of God, for it is meet it should be ruled by modest, humble, and orderly men. But such are they, (for being inferiors to the ministers of the word, as our adversaries do confess, and is plain also by the canon law, they crow over them as if they were their slaves) and if they do not so, they can do nothing; therefore they ought not to rule the church of God.

"They that live by the faults of men are not fit to rule the church of God, for they will rather increase

offences (that their gain may increase) than orderly lessen them, as experience (also) proveth. But such are all chancellors, commissaries, and officials; therefore they ought not to rule the church of God."—*Demonstration of Discipline*, p. 40, 41, in D. W. L. copy.]

^g " [I Ad[monition], &c., described, p. 104, D. W. L. copy] Preface.]

^b ["This is not, believe me, to be enriched with the jewels of the Egyptians, but to be infected with their boils and sores. These ear-rings

Touching the oath *ex officio*, whereby the popish prelates in Rome and England go about to bind men's consciences to accuse themselves and their friends, the Nonconformists profess it to be a bloody law, most damnable and dangerous, as cruel a racking of the mind as the most exquisite torture of the body can be.ⁱ This was invented by antichrist,^j through the inspiration of the devil,^k that by means thereof the professors and practisers of true religion might be suppressed and abolished. In very deed it is a lawless oath, given and taken against the law of nature, contrary to the commandment of Christ, Matt. xviii., and express word of God: against all equity and conscience: contrary to the common law, the canon law, counsels and imperial statutes, directly contrary to the nature of an oath. Besides, such as take it cannot swear in judgment and righteousness, but are forced either to accuse and betray their brethren, or by perjury to damn their own souls.^l

Offer for
Conf. pre.
Alt. Dam.
23, 26.

Sion Pl.
32, 33, 47,
48.

M. Bat.
170, 172.

Eng. Puri.
29, 30.

Def. of
Pet. for
Refor.
220. 221.

Park. on the
Cros.
Jer. iv. 2.
Abst. 19.

Fall Bab. 33.

* [141]
Curt. Ch.
37.
T. C. l. i.
187.
Dioces.
Trial. pref.
Dial. Sol.
Bar. Tab.
Div. read
in Camb.

[THIRDLY.] As their ecclesiastical officers and laws are all and *altogether antichristian and unlawful; so also are their [bishops'] courts said to be popish, human devices, presumptuous insolences, such as were never planted by the apostles in the primitive churches, but long after erected by antichrist against God, his church, and the lawful jurisdiction of eldership, and therefore, as most profane things, they ought to be rooted out.

If I were not unwilling to make this treatise large, I

and Egyptian ornaments which we have gotten are fitter to make a golden calf with, than to adorn and beautify the temple of God."—*Necessit[y] of [Disci]pline*, p. 16.]

ⁱ ["A Christian and Modest] Offer for Conf[erence,] pre[face,] p. 6, D. W. L. copy.]

^j [Sion's Pl[ea,] p. 32, 33, 47, 48. U. L. C.]

^k [Eng[lish] Puri[tanism,] p. 29, 30. [In the edition of 1660, chap. xv., sect. 7.]

^l [Park[er] on the Cross. [l. ii. pp. 104—108.]

would here write particularly of their courts, that so every good man might both loathe and leave them the sooner.^m Howsoever, something I will say of each, although but little; for a man may perceive what is in the cask, if he taste a spoonful thereof. Their court of faculties is said to be a Romish court, “a filthy quagmire, and poisoned plash of all the abominations that do infect the whole realm;”ⁿ out of it are dispensations given for boys and dolts, to have many benefices; for non-residents and such as do not preach, dualities, trialities, pluralities, *tot quots*; licences to marry at any time and place, &c.; absolutions for money, and one man to be absolved for another; briefly, the Popish enormities and deformities of this base court, are innumerable; for it hath full power, together with the petty pope, the primate of England, to dispense in all causes, dispensed heretofore by the pope of Rome, and more also. Not without cause therefore, have the Nonconformists desired that [it] might be plucked down, and utterly overthrown without hope of restitution.^o

As for the commissaries’ court, that is a petty little stinking ditch,^p which floweth out of that former great

Sion Pl.
313, 314.
I Ad. 16.
Sold Bar.

T. C. l. i.
87.

Alt. Dam.
70.
I Ad. 3.

^m [The Hampden case exhibited in the Court of Arches the unreformed condition of these courts in 1848. Human legislation in its vilest forms has never been able to produce a more shameless violation of truth and righteousness. That the practice of these courts, still retaining the force of law, should not at this date operate as bitterly and extensively as they used to do, must be ascribed to the state of public opinion: but that they still remain, and, when permitted, proceed in the name of Christ our Lord to outrage common sense and decency, is a pub-

lic wrong which exceeds all possible severity of remark.—Ed.]

ⁿ [Sion’s Pl[ea. U. L. C. copy, p.] 313, 314.] [I Adm[onition, &c., D. W. L. copy, p.] 16.]

^o [I Ad[monition, &c., D. W. L. copy,] p. 3.]

^p [“And as for the commissary’s court, that is but a petty little stinking ditch, that floweth out of that former great puddle, robbing Christ’s church of lawful pastors, of watchful seniors and elders, and careful deacons.”—*I Admonition to Parliament*, D. W. L. copy, p. 16.]

* puddle; a pack of popery, a sink of corruption, a sea of idolatry, whereby religion and godliness daily decay. In this court as in the other, "one alone doth excommunicate, one alone sitteth in judgment, and when he will, can draw back the judgment which he hath pronounced, having called upon the name of God, and that for money, which is called the changing of penance. In this court, for non-payment of two pence, a man shall be excommunicated: if he appear not when he is sent for, if he do not as his ordinary would, from whom he had his popish induction and institution, and to whom he had sworn *canonicam obedientiam*, canonical obedience, if he learn not his catechism like a good boy without book, when it were more meet he should be able to teach others; to conclude, if he be not obedient to all these lord bishops' officers, by and by he must be cut off by excommunication. And as it is lightly granted and given forth, so if the money be paid, and the court discharged, it is as quickly called in again. This court pouleth parishes, scourgeth the poor hedge-priests, ladeth churchwardens with manifest perjuries, punisheth whoredoms and adulteries with toyish censures; remitteth without satisfying the congregation, and that in secret places; giveth out dispensations for unlawful marriages, and committeth a thousand such like abominations. God deliver all Christians out of this antichristian tyranny."^q

Their bishops' visitation is (as the Nonconformists say) an ungracious course, purposely devised "to pick the purses of poor men, and to suppress those which are not friends to the kingdom of antichrist."^r In very truth, it

Prof. Dio.
ces. Trial.
Dial. Strif.
119, 120.
Learned
Disc. of
Eccle. Go.
132, 133,
134.

^q [I Adm[onition to Parliament, D. W. L. copy, p. 16, 17.]

^r ["At length the hour of darkness came from Lambeth, when Archbishop Bancroft sent Mr. Harsenet to

visit, as they call it, that is, (if terms may be interpreted by common practice) to pick the purses of poor men, and to suppress those which are not friends to the kingdom of Antichrist."

* [143]

is "holden for no other end almost but to gather up fees, * both ordinary and extraordinary, with daily new devices to poll the poor priests of their money, which they extort for seeing the letters of orders, for dinners, and such like matters. And yet a new invented pillage, whereby they compel men to buy books of them, for [four]pence or [six]pence, which are too dear of a penny or twopence; and not only such small ware, but also great books, being such as every parish is appointed to buy, must be bought of them for two or three shillings in a book dearer than it may be bought in Paul's Church Yard; yea, otherwhiles, though the parish be furnished of them already, they are not authentical, except they be bought at master chancellors and official, at master registrar's hands. As for reformation of anything in the church, there are indeed many presentments, and men sworn to present matters, but little or none amendment at all doth follow. So that it is a common saying in the country, when the presentment is once received, they shall never hear more of it. Soon after the visitation or synod, the petit-bribing sumner rideth forth laden with excommunications, which he scattereth abroad in the country as thick as hail-shot, against this parson and that vicar, this churchwarden and that sidesman, whom he himself, when he came to summon him to the synod for a cheese or a gammon of bacon, had undertaken to excuse for non-appearance. But when he is once excommunicated, there is no remedy, but he must trudge to the chancellor or official for absolution, who,

—*Diocesans' Trial*, by Mr. Baynes, preface, p. 2.]

["The proctors for their fees take part on every side; it is a very foul clout, which they will not help to wash. The summoners they range

abroad to drive into the net, but their chief gain is out of the court," &c.] *Dial[ogue concerning the] Strife [of the] Church*, p. 119, 120, [D. W. L. copy.]

after he hath once absolved his purse of a few groats, giveth him his blessing, and sendeth him away."^s

Their convocation-house is held to be an unlawful assembly, stuffed full of popish and profane chancellors, *lawyers, and other ravening wolves. None are chosen to come there but such as are known to be utter enemies to all sincerity; and if it come to pass that any man there seem to favour the cause of Christ, he is immediately banished out of their synagogue. These Romish birds have always condemned the Lord's ordinances; and all of them banded and linked themselves together to maintain gross corruptions, and to prevent Christ from bearing rule in the church by his own laws.^t In memory of man, they never concluded anything for the common good of the church, more than by others was better done to their hands; but much evil hath come from them, and more would, if their commission had served thereto."

Answ. to Banc. p. 35. Ec. Gov. 134.

* [144]

Supplic. to the Parl. p. 47 to 55.

Fresh Suit. l. i. p. 115 to 123.

I had forgotten almost their high commission; which is erected (say the Nonconformists) to suppress the liberty of the church, and to maintain the usurped power of the perfidious prelates. What is it but indeed the Spanish Inquisition? Set me up this throne, and Satan shall set

Alt. Dam. p. 36, 39.

^s [A Learned Discourse of] Ecclesiastical] Gov[ernment, p.] 134. [D. W. L. copy.]

^t [A Supplic[ation un]to the Parliament, by John Penry,] p. 47—55. [D. W. L. copy, 1588, with a Defence, by the same author, 1587.]

^u ["The fruit of your consultation shall show what generation ye be of. What have ye done hitherto, I pray you? What one thing that the people of England hath been better for of a hair? or you yourselves either more accepted before God, or better discharged toward the people committed to your care? For, that the

people is better learned and taught now than they were in time past, to whether of these ought we to attribute it? to your industry, or to the providence of God, and the foreseeing of the king's grace? What did ye, so great fathers, so many, so long a season, so oft assembled together, whereby Christ is more glorified, or his people made more holy? I appeal to your own consciences."—*Latimer's Sermon to the Assembly of Convocation, in the 28th of Hen. VIII.* Quoted by Dr. Ames, in] Fresh Suit, [&c. Part I.] p. 115—123.]

up papistry, or any other religion whatsoever, in short process of time; for they sit at the rudder, and may turn religion as it pleaseth them, and no doubt will when they shall see a fit occasion, and themselves to have able power.

FOURTHLY. We should come now to the [fourth] point, which is their manner of proceeding. Of this something already hath been spoken, but certainly, if I should here fully set down the notorious vileness thereof, as the Nonconformists report it to be, a whole book would not contain the same.

* Howsoever the hierarchy will bear with church papists and whoremongers, with non-residents, idle, ignorant, superstitious, and adulterous clergymen, admit freely a Doctor Lamb, or any like monstrous monster, to live peaceably amidst all his known abominations, and let go, scot-free and unpunished, known atheists, charmers, blasphemers, drunkards, fornicators, heretics, profaners of the sabbath, &c.^v Notwithstanding those called Puritans, which will not observe their traditions and beggarly ceremonies, shall be hurried up and down to their spiritual courts upon every occasion, and there be scorned, derided, taunted and reviled with odious and contumelious speeches, eyed with big and stern looks, have proctors procured to make personal invectives against them; made to dance attendance from court to court, and from term to term, frowning at them in presence, and laughing at them behind their backs;^w never leaving molesting of them, till

* [145]
Curt. Chu.
Pow. pag.
34, and 6.
Q. chur.
Wom. p. 28.
Def. Pet.
for Refor.
129.
Park. Cro.
l. i. 148.

Sion Pl.
pag. 125.

Eng. Puri.
26.

▼ ["What a thing is this," [that] "there should be no law to punish a loiterer that hideth his talents in the ground, to put out a dumb dog that cannot bark, or that a drunkard, a fornicator, a gamester, should scarce have their names called into question, nay, that papists themselves should be

used kindly, while the painful and profitable minister is pursued even to proscription, for a cross; and made the ass that must die for a straw."—*Park[er on the] Cross*, l. i. p. 148.]

▼ [English Puri[tanism], p. 26. [In C. S. L. copy, chap. v. sec. 3.] [Sion's Pl[ea], U. L. C. copy, p.] 125.]

they have emptied their purses, or cause them to make shipwreck of their consciences, or driven them out of the land, or lastly, by imprisonment, starved, stifled, and pined them to death. Thus they cherish vice, and correct virtue, give men leave to be any thing saving good Christians;^x besides, in these unclean stews,^y all is done for money,^z nothing is regarded else, for money any sin may be bought out with them: but those which will not fee them, shall be cursed and cast into hell for every trifle, although they have done no evil at all, but contrariwise for doing that which is right and good;^a and *this is so manifest a * [146] truth, as the prelates' creatures have openly confessed: "The church censures now-a-days do only touch the purse.

Dial. Str.
Ch. 114.
Dem. Dis.
Pre. Supp.
Gover.
D. Str. Ch.
128.
114, 119.
Necess.
Discip. 15.
Lear. Dis.
Ec. Go. p.
92.

^x ["For certainly it is more free in these days to be a Papist, Anabaptist, of the Family of Love, yea, any most wicked one whatsoever, than that which we should be; and I could live these twenty years any such in England (yea, in the house of a bishop it may be), and never be much molested for it."—*Dem[onstration of] Disci[pline]*, p. 3. [D. W. L. copy.]

^y ["All the corruptions which are in our church this day, sprang from no other head than this, that we have followed popish dreams and fantasies, as most stinking sinks and channels, leaving the pure fountains of the word of God."—*Necess[ity of] Disci[p[line]]*, p. 15.]

^z ["But I say, he that will disclose the corruptions but of your spiritual courts, may hold himself occupied a good piece of a day, and yet speak but truth. I know not where a man should begin, or whom a man should find to be the worst; . . . this is sure, all of them regard nothing but money. All the whole court is guided by . . . a golden rule."—*Dial[ogue concerning*

the] Str[ife of the] Ch[urch], pp. 114, 123, 114, 119. [D. W. L. copy.]

^a ["Therefore the popish tyranny is detestable, which thundereth out their pretended excommunication for every trifle: yea, such as are no sins; as non-payment of a little money, when it is not detained of fraud: non-appearance, where men otherwise have necessary impediments, as though it were but a small matter to put men out of the protection of Christ, and to deliver them unto the tyranny of Satan: to deprive them of eternal salvation, and to cast them into everlasting damnation." "Lest therefore we should use such unreasonable rigour, the Spirit of God teacheth us what manner of sins deserve excommunication, 1 Cor. v. 11: 'If any that is called a brother be a whore-monger, or a covetous person, or an idolater, or a slanderer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one see that ye eat not.'"—*Lear[ned] Dis[course of] Ec[clesiastical] Go[vernment]*, p. 92. [D. W. L. copy.]

D. Andr.
Ser. to the
Convoc.

Evil-doers when they have paid their fee, return scot-free." If no money, then have at the offenders with the episcopal sword, presently at one blow they are cut off from the church, delivered over unto Satan, proclaimed publicans, heathens, anathema; for the most ridiculous things, and against every good man, these brutish thunderbolts do fly up and down, and only to be feared of the purse.^b

Lear. Dis.
Ec. Go. 99.
I Adm. 6.
Fresh Suit,
l. ii. 421.

And yet this is not the greatest wickedness which is committed by these pestilent fellows: for it is further affirmed that their learned preachers are excommunicated many times by foolish boys.^c No marvel therefore their censures are not regarded, and that the Nonconformists give counsel that no man should make any conscience of them; for surely they are of no more effect, weight, or consequence, than if a villain or rogue should give sentence of death against a lawful prince. I forbear to mention the bawdy pleading of their doctors and proctors in those courts, and the sumners, yea, and registrars themselves, it is so scurrilous, unclean, and beastly, as the Nonconformists say, it would grieve a chaste ear to hear it;^d for the archdeacons and chancellors are fain to laugh it out many times, when they cannot hold their countenance any longer.¹

¹ Here were a fit place for him, who published the lying libels, under the name of Lawne, Fowler, Saunders, and Bullard, for in those courts his unclean tongue might have matter enough to talk of.

In the writing of these things there comes to my mind a speech, which a b[ishop] spake once to me in private.

^b [Dr. Ames's] Fresh Suit, &c., part ii. p. 42 .]

^c [Lear[ned] Dis[course of] Ec[clesiastical] Gov[ernment, p.] 99. [D. W. L. copy.]

^d [The terms which our author has here borrowed from the Nonconformists are by no means too strong to describe the methods of taking and treating evidence in our ecclesiastical

courts, especially in cases of *crim. con.* Whatever may be said for them as appendages to a public administration of civil justice, with which this work does not interfere, when considered as parts of ecclesiastical discipline, it is scarcely possible to conceive of anything more hostile to the letter, the aim, and spirit of the holy Redeemer's instructions.—Ed.]

I relating to him certain base and inhuman carriages which they did me in his courts, out *of great compassion * [147] he uttered these words:—"I pray God (saith he) to keep all good men out of their hands;" his speech was good, but in what a case is he himself all the while, which upholds with both hands these foul murderers, their court and courses, and yet in his conscience is persuaded that they are all stark naught.

It is not needful that I proceed farther in this point, seeing the Nonconformists do generally affirm, that their church is still under the bondage of antichrist's government, the very same false and tyrannous^e discipline that is portrayed out in the pope's canons: for which cause we refuse, say they, to have Christ an immediate king in the immediate government of the church, so "as great indignity is offered unto him," as if some base underlings unto a king should "commit his beloved spouse unto the direction of the mistress of the stews, and enforce her to live after the order of a brothel house."^f I will here conclude with this argument:—

"Whatsoever is contrary to the institution of Christ and his written word, is antichristian, and is to be banished out of the church of God.

"But the government by lord bishops, with episcopal domination, is contrary to the institution of Christ and his written word.

"Therefore it is antichristian, and it is to be banished out of the church of God."^g

* ["This government (as all knew who were acquainted with it) is, first, *corrupt*; secondly, *burdensome*; thirdly, *tyrannous*; fourthly, *it spoileth the church of her liberty*; fifthly, it hath condign censure and condemnation put upon it by the

learned."—*Sion's Plea*, p. 181.] *Necess[sity of] Dis[cipline]*, pp. 2, 3, 8.]

^f [Dem[onstration of] Dis[cipline], D. W. L. copy, p. 7.] Pref[ace to] Dio[cesans'] Trial.]

^g [Protestations from Scotland, p. 49. [D. W. L. copy.]

M. Davis.
pag. 2.
Sion's Pl.
181.
Neces Di.
2, 3, 8.
Brigh.
Rev. iii. p.
202.
Pref. Dio.
Tri Epi. to
Read.
Dem. Disc.
Prot. fr.
Scot. pag.
49.

II Adm. 6.
* [147]

• [148]

*SECT[ION] III.

[CONCLUSIONS IN FAVOUR OF SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, FOUNDED ON THE FOREGOING STATEMENT OF CORRUPTIONS IN ITS GOVERNMENT AND DISCIPLINE, AND SUPPORTED, ESPECIALLY IN ANSWER TO DR. LAITON.]

The following condensed re-statement of allegations brought by Nonconformists against the hierarchy, will help the reader to appreciate the justness of those conclusions to which he is advancing. It is from the pen of Dr. Laiton himself, and called by him,

“ A DECADE OF GRIEVANCES,

“ PRESENTED AND PROVED TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT, AGAINST THE HIERARCHY, ETC.

“ *First.* May it please your honours to take notice, *that the calling* of the *hierarchy*, their dependent offices and ceremonies, whereby they subsist, are all unlawful and antichristian.

[*Secondly.*] “ *The hierarchical* government cannot consist in a *nation with soundness* of doctrine, sincerity of God’s *worship*, holiness of life, the glorious power of *Christ’s government*, nor with the prosperity and *safety of the commonwealth*.

[*Thirdly.*] “ The present hierarchy are not ashamed to bear the multitude in hand, that their calling is *jure divino*. But they dare not but confess, when they are put to it, that their calling is a part of the king’s prerogative. So that they put upon God what he abhorreth, and will hold of the king when they can do no other.

[*Fourthly.*] “ They abuse, many ways, that power from the king by changing, adding, and taking away, at their pleasure, to the grievous vexation of the subject, the dishonouring of his majesty, and the making of the laws of none effect.

[*Fifthly.*] "The privileges of the laws, and the hierarchical government cannot consist together.

[*Sixthly.*] "The loyalty of obedience to the king's majesty and his laws, cannot possibly stand with the obedience to the hierarchy.

[*Seventhly.*] "All the unparalleled changes, bloody troubles, devastations, desolations, persecutions of the truth, from foreigners or domestics, since the year of our Lord 600, arising in this kingdom, and all the good interrupted or hindered, hath had one or more of the hierarchy as principal causes of them.

[*Eighthly.*] "All the fearful evils of sin and judgment for the present reigning amongst us, and threatened against us, (to omit the black desolation of our sister churches) we conceive to be *the birth of the womb, and the nurslings of the breasts of the hierarchy.*

[*Ninthly.*] "If the hierarchy be not removed, and the sceptre of Christ's government, namely, *discipline*, advanced to its place, there can be no healing of our sore, no taking up of our controversy with God; yea, our desolations, by his rarest judgments, are like to be the astonishment of all nations.

[*Lastly.*] "Right honourable, if you strike at this root of the *hierarchy*, removing that *Ashtoreth* or *grand idol*, and erect the purity of Christ's ordinances, we are confident that there shall be a ceasing from *exorbitant sins*, a removal of judgment, a recovery of God's favour, a repairing of the breaches of the church and commonwealth, a redeeming of the honour of the state, a dashing of *Babel's brats against the stones*: yea, this shall remove the *wicked from the throne*, strike a terror and astonishment to the hearts of all foreign and domestic foes: in a word, God will go *go forth with us*, and smite our enemies; yea, a glorious prosperity shall rest on Zion, king, state, and commonwealth.

"Thus having laid down a decade of evils, arising, like so many corroding ulcers out of the body of the hierarchy, we come now to some proof of the particulars as they lie in order, and that as punctually and as briefly as we can."—*Zion's Plea*, S. C. L. copy, pp. 3, 4, 5, 6.

These propositions are well elucidated and sustained by Dr. Laiton in the body of his work : and, on these concessions, with the statements advanced in their elucidation the unanswerable reasonings of Canne in this section are based.—ED.]

We have heard what the Nonconformists say of their church government : in this section we will lay down our conclusions from it, and these are chiefly [three.]

First. No obedience must be yielded to these ecclesiast[ical] officers ; I say, we may neither acknowledge their authority, nor in any thing, kind, or degree, partake with them in their administration : but strictly avoid the same, as we would avoid wrath and vengeance to come. There is no need that I allege scriptures, reasons, &c., (as before) for confirmation of this, seeing the Nonconformists go with us fully in the thing, and do affirm that men ought not to appear^h in their courts, neither to obey or regard their citations, excommunications, warrants, &c., nor to receive any absolution from them ; in a word, not to yield obedience to them, in any one thing which comes from them, as they are bishops, archdeacons, chancellors, commissaries, officials, &c. ; for this were an acknowledging of them, and a way to maintain them in their usurpation, pride, idolatry, covetousness, &c. ; besides, we should then suffer men to rule over us at their pleasure, and so not stand fast in that Christian liberty which the Lord commands us to do.

M. Bates,
87, 88, 154.
Sion Pl.
38, 107,
108.
Protest.
from Sco.
94
Mart. Jun.
83, 84.
Mart. Sen.

Col. ii.

Gal. vi. 1.

^h [Protestations from Scotland, p. 94. [D. W. L. copy.]

[Sion's Plea, &c. [S. C. L.] p. 38, "Thus to put upon God the thing that he *never commanded, nor ever came into his heart to command*, as himself speaketh, (Jer. vii. 31,) how high a sin it is and how near to *blasphemy*, we leave it to be judged." . . . They are fathers and favourers of the

soul-murdering sins of *non-residency* and *plurality*."—*Ibid.*,] p. 107. ["Never papist so shameless, as to plead or write for these sins, (so far as we know) yet some among us are not ashamed to do both, but this is no better than to plead and write for *blood guiltiness*, and to warrant it by law."—*Ibid.*, p. 108.]

Moreover, it is certain a man cannot obey the bishops' government, but he must necessarily transgress against the laws of the realm,ⁱ and to prove this an argument may be framed thus :—

*Whosoever shall allow or countenance in word or deed * [149]
any foreign power, authority, or jurisdiction, (and more particularly of the pope of Rome) makes himself a transgressor to the king and to the laws.

But such as obey the b[ishops'] eccl[esiastical] government, do allow and countenance, in word and deed, a foreign power, authority, and jurisdiction, and particularly of the pope of Rome.

Therefore such as obey the b[ishops'] eccles[iastical] government, make themselves transgressors to the king and the laws.

Both parts of the reason are evident and clear as the light. The former are of the words of the oath of allegiance: touching the latter, to wit, that the prelates exercise a foreign power, authority, and jurisdiction, derived from the pope, we have before sufficiently proved. And therefore it behoveth all the king's subjects to look well to this thing, lest they be not only foresworn, but incur also the penalty of the law; which is after conviction, forfeitures, judgments, and executions, due to high treason.

Our second inference is, that the public assemblies of England are false and antichristian, and therefore to be left: this necessarily follows upon the former premises: for if they have not the power of the censures and of excommunication, but stand under a government which came wholly and every part from the devil and antichrist, then is their condition naught: the reason is, because this

ⁱ ["It may invincibly be concluded that a subject cannot both obey them and the laws."—*Sion's Plea*, &c. [S. C. L.] p. 38.]

power is of absolute necessity for the churches of Christ, an essential property thereof, and serves not only for their well-being but the being itself, for without this there can be no *coupling of the parts and members together. And so much D[octo]r Ames testifieth. Now the assemblies of England were not gathered by any such power, but in their first constitution wanted the same, and had this false power, which is exercised at this day, as the Nonconformists do acknowledge. Our arguments which we have used in this point have been to this effect:—

Every true visible church hath a power immediately under Christ to execute church government.

But the public congregations of England have not any such power under Christ, to execute church government.

Therefore they are not true visible churches.

What they will say to this, I know not: but hitherto they have either been silent, or answered to no purpose in the world: for it is usually their manner, to tell us how the churches in Corinth, Pergamos, Thyatira, &c., neglected to execute discipline, as though there were no difference between omitting to administer the ordinance, and the want wholly of it; yea, and to have an antichristian and devilish in the room of it. Indeed, herein they well resemble children, which being not able to read the lesson given them, do skip over and take another easy one: so these leave altogether the point in hand, which is to prove, by God's word, that a true church may want in itself immediate power under Christ to execute ecclesiastical government, and may be subject to that which was brought in by the Romish beast: and talk of a matter which I think no man ever denied. It is true, some have essayed to prove it, but after many thoughts *spent about it, we have had nothing but wind from them: namely, of

* [150]
De Conso.
l. iv. cap.
24. 214.

Def. Pet.
for Ref.
p. 7.

* [151]

a city without a wall; of a vineyard, garden, orchard, &c., wanting a hedge, fence, bounds, &c., and such broken stuff, not worthy of any answer: for where do they read in scripture that this power which Christ hath given to his church is compared to a wall, hedge, &c.? but rather may be better likened to the power of the body, which receives food, and whereby excrements are purged and avoided, the want whereof were prodigious in nature, neither could the ^{1 Cor. v.} body possibly subsist and live.

And here by the way, I think it convenient to answer briefly unto some reproachful passages, written by D[octo]r Laiton against the Separatists: he accuseth them of strange and unsound conclusions, but names nothing, only from M[r.] Park[er De] Polit[ia] Eccles[iastica], he Englisheth a syllogism in this manner:—

If discipline be so necessary and also unchangeable, it is lawful to separate from such churches as do not use it, (say the prelates.)

But discipline is unchangeably necessary, (say the Separatists.)

Ergo, it is lawful to separate from such churches as do not use it.

The minor he grants to be true, but denies the major, and to prove it false he gives this reason:—"For want of an integral part of the whole, or of some essential part in itself (though not of the whole), is no sufficient ground for separation."

He might, with more credit and good conscience, have granted the major also, than sought to refute it by frothy, empty, and impertinent words: for,

First. He speaks as a man most ignorant of the nature of *church power, for were he able truly to define it, he * ^[152] should see that it is of such necessity, as a people cannot constitute themselves in the right order of the gospel without it, as we have before expressed.

[*Secondly.*] If the bishop's major, as he terms it, be well understood, it carries this meaning: discipline is so necessary, that where it is not, there can be no church ordinances rightly administered, no true ministry, worship, sacraments, censures, &c. And it is certainly so, and if M. D. [Doctor Laiton] have any thing to object against it, let him speak out; he knows his liberty. *

[*Thirdly.*] If M. D. [Doctor Laiton] will but hold up his words against the light, he shall see they have not the face of an answer, for let his words be granted, what is this to the necessity of discipline, unless he could prove that the same is not so essential but a true church may wholly want it, the which thing neither he nor any man is able to prove, and therefore he only begs basely the matter, but proves nothing; and therefore for the warm clothes, whereof he speaketh, he may even keep them himself, to cover the nakedness of his argument.

I will not here speak of his irreligious phrase, comparing the holy way of God to hatching, neither of his untruth, to say that separatism was not before [arch]-b[ishop] Whitgift wrote for ceremonies; I think the man knows better, to wit, that from false ministers, worship, &c., the saints have separated before Whit[gift] either wrote or was born. If our practice be otherwise, even by the testimonies of the Nonconf[ormists] let it be manifested. If this will not serve the turn, let him then take knowledge *of what D[octo]r Ames saith: "In the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign, there was a company of honest men, that for the ceremonies refused to join with the parish assemblies at London, as appeareth in the examination of John Smith, W. Nixon, extant in a book called Part of a Register."^j We could prove (if

* [153]
Fresh Suit,
l. i. p. 10.

^j [The examination referred to William Nixon, and others, before by Dr. Ames was of John Smith, the bishop of London, in 1567. The

there were need) in King Edward's reign, that there were some good Christians, which would not communicate with the parish assemblies, but there is no use hereof, seeing we have the word of God to justify our practice.

There is one thing more which Mr. Dr. [Doctor Laiton] much talks of, and makes it even the burden of his song, i. e. that the bishops are the authors of the Separatists' schism, their practice butteth full upon the other's unreasonable and unsound reasoning. But what if it appear that Mr. Dr. [Doctor Laiton's] arguments do lead rather to separation, and that he speaks one thing and practiseth another, would not this be a strange sight, especially to himself? Now, whether this be so, we will here try by some reasons in his own mood and figure:

[*Argument the First.*]

If the Book of Common Prayer used in the assemblies of England be an infectious Liturgy, Romish stuff,

words of Smith are these:—"Indeed, as you said even now, for preaching and ministering the sacraments, so long as we have the word freely preached, and the sacraments administered without the preferring of idolatrous gear above it, we never assemble together in houses. But when it come to this point, that all our preachers were displaced by your law, that would not subscribe to your apparel and your law, so that we could not hear none of them in any church, by the space of seven or eight weeks, except Father Coverdale, of whom we have a good opinion, and yet God knoweth, the man was so fearful, that he durst not be known unto us where he preached, though we sought it at his house. And then were we troubled and commanded to your courts from

day to day, for not coming to our parish churches. Then we bethought us what were best to do, and we remembered that there was a congregation of us in this city in Queen Mary's days, and a congregation at Geneva, who used a book and order of preaching, ministering of the sacraments and discipline, most agreeable to the word of God: which book is allowed by that godly and well learned man, Master Calvin, and the preachers there, which book and order we now hold. And if you can reprove this book, or anything that we hold, by the word of God, we will yield to you, and do open penance at Paul's Cross; if not we will stand to it, by the grace of God."—*Part of a Register*, pp. 24, 25. D. W. L.]

a devised service, and raked out of [three] Romish channels, it is lawful to separate from such churches as do use it (say the learned.)

See before
pag. 80.

But the Book of Common Prayer, used in the assemblies of England, is an infectious Liturgy, Romish stuff, a devised service, and raked out of [three] Romish channels (saith Mr. Dr. [Doctor Laiton].)

Sion's Pl.
342, 318,
314, 29.

Ergo: it is lawful to separate from such churches as do use it;

Especially when they continue obstinate and incorrigible in the practice thereof, after due dealing and conviction, as I * suppose Mr. Dr.^k [Doctor Laiton] will freely confess they have done, even after due means used, both by many godly learned from time to time, and now at last by himself.

* [154]

[*Argument the Second.*]

If the ministry of the Church of England be unlawful and antichristian, it is lawful to separate from it (say the learned.)

See before
pag. 27, 28.

But [Dr. Laiton saith] the ministry of the Church of England is unlawful and antichristian.
Ergo, it is lawful to separate from it.

Sion's Pl. 3.

[*Argument the Third.*]

If the Church of England hath not Christ's key, she is not his house (saith Mr. Dr. [Doctor Laiton].)

Sion's Pl.
111.

But the Church of England hath not Christ's key (saith Mr. Brightman and others.)

Upon Rev.
iii. pag. 202.
Edit. 3.

See before
pag. 136.
Sion's Pl.
85, and
p. 3, 314,
181.

Ergo, she is not his house; and so, consequently, to be separated from.

^k [This style of reference to Dr. Laiton was very common when Canne wrote. Mr., the degree of Master, was first taken at the University; that of

Dr., Doctor, was taken next, and the expression *Master Doctor* was employed to recognise both these learned acquisitions.—Ed.]

[*Argument the Fourth.*]

D[octoꝛ Laiton] saith, To separate from corruptions is lawful.

[But,] D[octoꝛ Laiton] saith [also,] The ministry, worship, and church government of England are corruptions.

Ergo, it is lawful to separate from the ministry, worship, and church government of England.

I do not gather up these his arguments for any need we have of them, but to put him in mind of his own *take heed*; for if he say one thing and do another, he may perhaps at last fall worse than upon the quicksands of separation, even into the bottomless pit of condemnation. And whereas I perceive he is not willing to be compared to Barrow, for my part I am not willing that he should, for Reverend Barrow was true to his grounds, and walked conscionable in the holy order of the gospel, to which order Mr. Dr. [Doctor Laiton] hath been hitherto an utter enemy, but for what reason let himself look to it. I have spoken the more because of this *man's insolent boasting against* ^[155] us, and the untrue reports which he giveth forth of refuting the chiefest Separatists; I hope now the world shall see what ability he hath in this thing, or otherwise all will have just cause to conclude that Mr. Dr. [Doctor Laiton] will speak more to his good friends in private against us, than he is willing to have publicly known to receive an answer to it.

Our third inference is, If church government be a matter of faith necessary to salvation, as is any outward ordinance of God, and wholly wanting in the assemblies of England, then it is the duty of all the faithful there (shaking off the prelates' yoke), to erect this power, and exercise the same among them. I do not mean that any private person should meddle with the affairs of the realm, but that every

one in his own person do place himself about the throne of God, leaving the abuses of the public state to be reformed by such as have a lawful calling thereto. It is certain this ordinance must be set up, retained, and practised, though princes are utterly against it; we must not tarry one hour to expect a new grant from men to do our duties in the true worship of God, when as we have a sufficient grant already from Heaven, for if we do we shall surely die in our sins, and our blood shall be upon our own head. The primitive Christians had not the magistrates' leave to serve God, yet they did whatsoever he commanded them; their practice is an example for us, and all believers are bound to do the like as often as there is the like just and necessary occasion; for as the approbation of men and angels makes the ways * of God and works of religion never a whit the more lawful, but only the more free from bodily danger, so neither can their disallowance make unlawful such duties of religion as the word of God approveth, nor can they give dispensation to any person to forbear the practice thereof.

* [156]

But because my purpose chiefly is, to show the judgment of the Nonconformists, touching religious ordinances and the use and practice thereof, I will therefore lay down their words, that so the reader may see how well they and we in these things do accord, except in obedience. The magistrate (say they) is but the servant of the Lord, and therefore hath no power to bind the conscience, neither can he exempt any man from obedience to God.

Mr. Bate.
p. 41, 42.

Another saith, If the law of man be wanting, yet the church must not cease from doing her duty, and exercise her power which is granted her by Christ, who hath also promised his presence when two or three are gathered together in his name; therefore she may entreat, determine, and strengthen her decrees and constitutions with ecclesi-

Alt. Dam.
p. 15.

astical censures and punishments, notwithstanding the prince will not assent, approve, and ratify the canons of the church, nor confirm them by his laws, and fortify them with temporal punishments. M. Wing, an eminent reformist, hath [nine] reasons in print to prove that all persons are necessarily bound to practise perpetually the ordinances and commandments of the gospel, although the civil magistrate allow not thereof; and, because they are effectual and weighty, I will here lay them down.

[*First.*]

*If the only sure way for comfort of our souls be the practice of God's ordinances for his visible church under the gospel, then we are bound to practise the said ordinances, notwithstanding the magistrate do forbid the said practice.

* [157]
A Collec-
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matters, to
prove the
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dinance.

But the only sure way for the comfort of our souls is the practice of God's ordinances for his visible church under the gospel.

Therefore we are bound to practise the said ordinances, notwithstanding the magistrate do forbid the said practice.

[*Secondly.*]

All the magistrate's power wherein he is actually to be obeyed, is only where he commands or forbids, from God or for God.

But the magistrate forbidding the practice of this way, doth not forbid from God nor for God.

Therefore the magistrate forbidding the practice of this way, is not actually to be obeyed.

[*Thirdly.*]

Where the magistrate may not command, and be lawfully obeyed in the negative part of any commandment of

the first table, there he may not forbid, and be lawfully obeyed in the affirmative.

But the magistrate may not command and be lawfully obeyed in the negative of the [second] commandment. Therefore he may not forbid, and be lawfully obeyed in the affirmative.

[*Fourthly.*]

We cannot justify, especially the continued omission of any duty, and chiefly of the first table, unless we be by violence restrained from the practice thereof.

But to omit the practice of these ordinances of God for his visible church under the gospel, because it is not tolerated or allowed by the magistrate, is a continued omission of a duty of the first table, and this not omitted by reason of a violent restraint.

Therefore we cannot justify the omission of this duty.

[*Fifthly.*]

[158.] *It is not lawful to omit the duty of charity to relieve any poor saint of God, though the magistrate forbid it.

Therefore we may not omit this duty of piety, though the magistrate forbid it.

[*Sixthly.*]

If the Lord foresaw the averseness of magistrates to the practice of this church government, and yet did never exempt nor dispense with the people's omission thereof, then we may not omit or forbear this duty, though the magistrate do not tolerate it.

But the Lord foresaw the averseness of magistrates to the practice of this church government, and yet did never exempt nor dispense with the people's omission of this duty.

Therefore we may not omit or forbear this duty, though the magistrate forbid.

[*Seventhly.*]

Whatsoever was commanded to the [seven] churches to be practised under persecuting magistrates opposing, that we must not omit, though the magistrate doth not tolerate it.

[But] the practice of church government was commanded to the [seven] churches, Rev. ii. and iii.

Therefore we must not omit the practice of church government, though the magistrate doth not tolerate it.

[*Eighthly.*]

If the church government may be omitted, wheresoever and whensoever the magistrate doth not allow it, then it doth depend wholly for the practice of it on the will of man.

But it doth not depend, neither ought it to depend, wholly upon the will of man.

Therefore the church government may not be omitted, when and wheresoever the magistrate doth not allow it.

[*Ninthly.*]

If the magistrate may forbid me the practice of the ordinances of God [in Christ,] then he may forbid me to be so good a subject [to Christ] as I can be or may be.

But the magistrate may not* forbid me to be so good a sub- * [159]
ject to Christ as I can be or may be.

Therefore the magistrate may not forbid me the practice of the ordinances of God [in Christ.]

The Nonconformists are not alone in this thing, for all the reformed churches affirm the same, (viz.) that "it is the part and duty of all the faithful to submit to the doctrine and discipline appointed by Christ; yea, though the contrary edicts of princes and magistrates do forbid them upon

Harmony
of Confes.
Sect. x.
Belgick
artic. 28, &
French
artic. 26.

See the
History
of Scotland,
p. 256 and
283.

Discourse
of Eccles.
Govern.
p. 9, 10.

T. C. I. i.
p. 51.

pain of death." And so have their practices been many ages together, and there is good reason for it; for the regiment and government of the church dependeth not (as the Non-conformists well teach) upon the authority of princes, but upon the ordinance of God, who hath most mercifully and wisely so established the same that, as with the comfortable aid of Christian magistrates, it may singularly flourish and prosper, so, without it, it may continue, and against the adversaries thereof prevail; "for the church craveth help and defence of Christian princes to continue and go forward more peaceably and profitably to the setting up of the kingdom of Christ, but all [her] authority she receiveth immediately of God."¹

[The agonizing earnestness of the Puritans in their conflict is nowhere more fully evinced than it is in their Introduction to the *Demonstration of Discipline* addressed "to the *supposed Governors of the Church of England*." That burning document closes with these words: "The Lord open your eyes that you may see the confusions whereof you are the cause, and give you true repentance, or confound you in all your purposes that be against him and the regiment of his Son Jesus Christ. The same Lord, for the love he beareth to his people, open the eyes of her majesty and the honourable counsellors, that they may see your godless practices, and in pity to God's people rid us from you, and turn away his judgments, which the rejecting of his holy yoke hath deserved, not punishing them that mourn for the desolation of Zion, with those that spoil and make havoc of the Lord's inheritance. Amen."—D. W. L. copy, p. 5.]

Before we proceed to another point, we may here frame this argument:

If the professors of the gospel in England have not among

¹ [A Learned] Discourse of Eccles[iastical] Govern[ment,] p. 9, 10. [D. W. L. copy.]

them a true church government, but are under that which came from the great antichrist, then are they bound to set up that ordinance of God and to practise it, notwithstanding the magistrate do forbid the said practice.

But the professors of the gospel in England* have not* [160] among them a true church government, but are under [that which came from the great antichrist,] &c.

Therefore are they bound to set up that ordinance of God and to practise it, notwithstanding the magistrate doth forbid the said practice.

These are both their own positions, and so soundly proved that no man living is able to confute them. But some will say this is hard to do; I answer, difficulties must not hinder duties; where we have an express commandment laid upon us, there all disputation must cease, of hardness, dangers, losses, &c. Excellently for his purpose speaketh Calvin: "There is no travail or labour so great which we must not endure, to the end we may enjoy the face of God, how perilous soever the passage be; be it (as they say) betwixt fire and water, yet let men go forward to have liberty to serve and worship God purely. Is a man in going pinched with famine or thirst? yet let him not faint, but scrape the earth rather with his nails for food and maintenance, than be turned or driven back from coming to the temple of God."

Sermon
upon Psa.
xxvii. 8.

Many used to say they wish all were well, and pray for reformation; to this I answer, it is not enough that we desire to have all things well except we endeavour to make them so. He that wants and hungers for bodily food deserves to starve, except withal he use diligence and sore labour also, as he is able to get it. Again: prayers I confess are good, but without practice they profit not; the heart which sets the hand at work, and is full of zeal, obe-

* [161]
Exo. xiv. 15.

dience, sincerity, &c. shall do well and prosper. When Moses stood crying at the Red Sea, what saith God unto him? "Speak* unto the children of Israel, that they go forward." I am persuaded the Nonconformists pray daily for their deliverance from the bishop's government; but here is their fault, they go not forward, but are like him in the proverb, which lies in the ditch and cries God help, but doth not seek to help himself, though he can and is able.

Others think because men's laws are against Christ, that they shall therefore be excused in omitting their service unto him, but they will find it otherwise; and, as for this shift, it denotes a most unsound heart: for as we would repute that servant very naught, who, being commanded by his master to do divers things, doth only that which serves for his own credit, profit, pleasure, &c., but the rest not being so (though more weighty and necessary), he purposely omitteth; so certainly they carry the broad characters of notable hypocrites even in their foreheads, who walk only in such ways of Christ as lie open for them by the authority of man, where they may go with good leave safely, and free from all bodily danger, but where the commandments of God are hedged up with thorns, by men's prohibitions, there they foully step aside, and walk corruptly. When the apostles were sent forth to plant churches, if they should have left the Lord's work because they were forbidden to preach in the name of Jesus, they had surely sinned, and would have been greatly punished for it. Are not the ordinances of the gospel as strictly to be kept now as heretofore? Yes, surely. Mr. Hieron saith, that such outward observances in matters of religion as are of *divine institution, not the least of them are to be neglected, despised, or disused, until he that ordained them shall be pleased, in express terms, to disannul them. If not the least must be omitted, then not church govern-

Upon Psa.
li. ver. 7, p.
200, 203.

* [162]

ment, because it is a chief ordinance, and without the which (as I said before) no public worship can be rightly administered.

There are some which, out of tenderness of conscience, refuse to kneel in the act of receiving, and do take the sacrament sitting; moreover, do meet in private families, to fast and pray together, and are persuaded that herein they do well, though their practice be forbidden by the magistrate. Now I desire these seriously to consider if they may lawfully perform some religious duties against human laws, why not others? and specially if they be such duties as serve more for God's glory, the furtherance of the gospel, the edification of the church, and salvation of their own souls?

I do not find any thing written by D[octo]r Ames about this point, although he well knew that one main ground of our separation from their parish assemblies is, because (as the Nonconformists affirm) they want the power of Christ, and stand under that which was taken wholly from the pope; yet it may be he thought that he had said enough hereof in the Addition of his first book, pag. 26, where he repeats certain words which had been before printed in his Reply to D[octo]r Morton. If Gaius (saith he) had made a separation from the church wherein Diotrephes lived, whether the apostle John had been *the * [163] cause of that scandal, because he condemned his abuse of excommunication. This speech (saith D[octo]r Burgess) is the weakest pretence that could be devised; and truly so it is, and therefore I marvel, seeing he was told so much that he had not either said something for his own defence, or blotted it out, that so the weakness and impertinency of it might never have been seen. Could not D[octo]r Ames perceive any difference between the abuses there noted by John in Diotrephes, and those which are mentioned by

the Nonconformists against the Church of England? We do not read that Diotrephes is said to be an unlawful and antichristian minister, that he had brought into the church a devised worship, had set up a false government; yet such are the faults which the Nonconformists have found out in the Church of England. I wonder, therefore, that the Doctor should so much overshoot himself, for though we do not think that it was lawful either for Gaius or any other member of that church to separate because Diotrephes played the diocesan (but they were to stay and seek his reformation), notwithstanding, we think, yea, and do know of a certainty, that from a church, where the ministry, worship, and government is unlawful and antichristian, we may warrantably depart; and such is our separation by the Nonconformist principles.¹

Thus, reader, thou hast heard the most, and all which Dr. Ames hath said to maintain the reputation of their grounds, charged with separatism. Now if thou considerest how effectually he hath refuted the Rejoinder in the matter of ceremonies, but contrariwise about *this point of separation, how he speaks either nothing, or nothing to any

* [164]

¹ ["Our principles do not more tend to separation than St. John's rule doth, who, when Diotrephes played the diocesan in the church, did write unto the faithful people that they should not follow the evil which was among them, but the good. —III John 11."—*Dr. Ames's Reply to Morton, in Burgess*, p. 236.

Answer. "*Your principles, which are, 'that nothing may be established in the church but what God hath commanded in his word; that all forms of worship not prescribed, and all mere ecclesiastical rites, are will-worship; that the calling of our*

bishops, and consequently of our ministers, is antichristian; that our ceremonies are idolatrous in our use of them; and such like stuff [do]; yea, your Master Bradshaw's very arguments against conformity, are pretended [advanced] by the Separatists as grounds of their separation. And they themselves prove their pedigree from you; and no man can deny it who hath any forehead left. You should therefore deal more ingenuously, to call them your dear brethren of the Separation."—*Answer of Dr. Burgess for Morton*, p. 236. D. W. L. copy.]

purpose, thou mayest well perceive that in the former he had the truth with him, but not in the other, although (it seems) he was unwilling in plain terms to give the case away.

CHAPTER IV.

[A NECESSITY FOR SEPARATION FROM THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, PROVED BY CORRUPTIONS AND DEFECTS WHICH NONCONFORMIST WRITERS HAVE REVEALED IN ITS CONSTITUTION.]

[INTRODUCTION.]

THAT the ministry, worship, and church government of England is not lawfully to be joined with, we have evidently already proved by their own principles. In this chapter we will speak of their church, observing still the former order, that is,

[First.] I will show their tenets touching a true visible church.

[Secondly.] How far their English church, by their own testimony, differs from and is contrary to it.

[Thirdly.] I will lay down our inferences and conclusions.

[Fourthly.] Answer to such objections as may seem to carry most weight against them.

[SECTION I.]

[STATEMENTS FROM NONCONFORMIST WRITERS, DESCRIBING THE NATURE OF A TRUE VISIBLE CHURCH.]

To let pass the strict signification of the word (church), and also the sundry acceptations of it, concerning true

visible churches, the Nonconformists say that there are none but particular ordinary congregations;^{1m} such churches, and such only, they affirm, God erected, but as for national, provincial, diocesan, they are now of human institution, and altogether unjustifiable by the scriptures. The author, institutor, and framer of every true visible church,² is only Christ, for he alone hath the disposing of the word, vouchsafing it to some and *denying it to others; and it is his Spirit which converteth men's souls, and begetteth them to everlasting life, and so they become stones for this building.

For the persons whereof the same are constituted, they ought to be a faithful people, called³ⁿ and separated from the world,^o and the false worship and the ways thereof. Such, I say, as keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus; for how else should the church be the house, mountain, and temple of the eternal God? his vineyard, kingdom, heritage, and enclosed garden, the body of Christ, his spouse, love, sister, queen, a chosen generation, a holy nation, a peculiar people, and the joy of the whole earth? Howsoever, therefore, there may be hypocrites, which bear the face of godly men in the church,^p whose wickedness is only known to God, and so cannot be discovered by men, yet in the churches of Christ there

^m ["That wherein we contradict one another is, we affirm that no such head church was ordained, either virtually or actually, but that all churches were singular congregations, equal, independent each of other, in regard of subjection."—*Diocesans' Trial*, by Baynes, edition 1621, p. 13.]

[A Christian and Modest] Offer for Confer[ence, p. 2. D. W. L. copy.]

[Neces[sity] of Ref[orming our Churches,] pp. 64, 65.]

ⁿ ["A true visible and ministerial church of Christ is a number of faith-

ful people joined by their willing consent in a spiritual outward society or body politic," &c.—[*The Divine Beginning and*] Institut[ion] of [Christ's] True Vis[ible] Chur[ch,] by Mr. [Henry] Jacob, p. 6. [D. W. L. copy, printed 1610, p. 2.]

^o [Mr. Bradshaw's Unreason[ableness of the] Separ[ation,] p. 107. [The D. W. L. copy has its paging figures cut off, but the leaves count to the place.]

^p [Protestations from Scotland, p. 22. [D. W. L. copy.]]

¹ Offer for Confer. pag. 2.
Dioces. Tri. p. 12.
Neces. of Ref. p. 64, 65.
First part of Repl. in Answ. to D. Down. * [165]
Defen. 1. i. par. 2. p. 44, &c., and Second Repl. 1. iii. chap. i. p. 177, &c.
* M. Clev. upon Pro. ch. ix. ver. 1, p. 3.
* M. Jaco. Institut of True Vis. Chur. pa. 7. M. Bradsh. Unreason. of Separ. p. 107.
Fall of B. p. 50.
1 Ti. iii. 15. Isa. ii. 2. Zach. viii. 3. Isa. v. 1. Song iv. 12. Ephe. iv. 16. Song iv. 10, 7. 1 Pet. ii. 9. Psa. xlviii. 3.
Protest from Scotl. p. 22. T. C. l. i. p. 50.
Neces. Disc. p. 7.

ought to be admitted no drunkard, no whoremonger, &c., at least which are known, because the temple of God must be kept, as near as it is possible, free and clean from all pollutions and profanations whatsoever.

The means whereby men are made fit for this church of God is by the word. When they have well profited by hearing the same, they are then freely, and of their own accord, to present themselves to the Lord; that is, either to join themselves to some true church already constituted, or by voluntary profession of faith,^a and obedience of Christ, to knit themselves together in a spiritual outward society or *body politic. Now every true particular congregation, assembled lawfully in the name of Christ, is an independent body, and hath by Christ's ordinance power to perform all public worship;^r for unto it appertaineth the covenant, the worship, the sacraments, and all ecclesiastical discipline, having also the promises of peace, love, glory, and salvation, and of the presence of God, and his continual protection; and for this cause it is the duty of every faithful Christian to make himself actually a member thereof.

[*First.*] In respect of God's institution, Matt. xviii. 17, in which not only the precept is contained, but a certain necessity of the means.

[*Secondly.*] In respect of the presence of God and of Christ. For if we will come to God, we ought then to come to that place where his presence is in an especial manner, and where he is to be found of all such as seek him with the whole heart.

[*Thirdly.*] In respect of God's glory, the which by this means is publicly propagated and advanced; for as the

^a [Mr. Jacob's, [Henry, Divine Beginning and] Institut[ion] of [Christ's] True Visible Church, &c. p. 2. [D. W. L. copy.]

^r [A Christian and Modest] Offer for Confer[ence, &c.,] p. 2. [D. W. L. copy.]

M. Bradsh. Unreas. of Sep. p. 107. Mr. H. upon Psa. cx. ver. 3, fol. 396. T. C. l. i. p. 51. M. Jacob's Institut. of True Vis. ch. p. 2.

* [166]

Mr. Bate, p. 26. Offer for Confer. p. 2. Ephe. ii. 12 [-22.] Rom. ix. 4, 5. I Cor. v. 4. Luk. i. 71. Zech. ii. 10, 11. Mat. xxviii. ult. Protest from Scot. p. 22. Dr. Ames de Consc. l. iv. c. xxiv. p. 211, 212, [or p. 226 of B. M. copy.]

Rev. i. 13.

Psal. lxxv. 5,
and cxxxiii.
3.

name of God in the Old Testament was placed in Jerusalem, so now it is in the churches of the saints, although not in this or that place.

[*Fourthly.*] In respect of God's covenant and promise, for those which are in the church are directly (as it were) joined to his blessings, the which are there poured forth abundantly upon them.

[*Fifthly.*] In respect of our profession, for otherwise it cannot be but those evidences will be darkened whereby the faithful are discerned from unbelievers.

[*Sixthly.*] In respect of mutual edification, which necessarily follows upon our joining together in the fellowship of the gospel.

I Cor. xi. 17,
and xii. 25,
27.
Rom. i. 12.
• [167]

Fall of B.
pa. 30.
Curt. Chu.
Pow. p. 54.

* Touching the manner and order of this joining unto true visible churches, the Nonconformists do describe it thus: he which is to be received, first is to go to the elders of the church, to be well informed and instructed by them, and to have his cause by them propounded to the congregation; afterwards he is to come himself into the public assembly, all men looking upon him with love and joy, as upon one that cometh to be married, and there he is to make a profession of faith, and to be asked sundry needful questions, to which he having well answered, and being found worthy, by the consent of the whole church is joyfully to be taken into their communion; and this they say was the practice of the primitive churches; for Eusebius reporteth in his Ecclesiastical History, that a Roman emperor, named Philip (who first became a Christian of all the emperors, and first submitted the Roman empire unto Christ) desiring to communicate with the rest of the church, was not admitted before he had openly made profession of true religion.^s

Lib. vi.

Neces. Dis.
p. 172.
Printed at
Geneva.

^s ["When Gaudianus had been together with his son Philip, succeeded emperor of Rome six years, Philip, him. Of this man it is reported, that

When a people are thus established in the faith and order of the gospel, their care then must be to walk unproveably; and as in the natural body every several member is (as it were) the member of every other, in serving to their good, as the eye doth see, the hand doth take, the tongue doth speak, for the good of any other member, so must it be in the church of God, every person, according to his place and calling, ought to be as profitable unto the rest as he can, and especially their godly watchfulness must be to keep *their communion clean and pure; and therefore * [168] no unholy person may partake with them in the holy sacraments, but such only (as far as men can judge by their outward profession) that do belong truly unto Christ. When any one among them falls into sin, he must be lovingly admonished thereof, and brought to repentance, or else to be cut off by excommunication, if he continue obstinate in his sins. How this duty of brotherly admonition is to be performed, we have already showed; this only is to be added, viz. that it ought necessarily to be practised, and may not be omitted: for certainly the toleration of known iniquity is a grievous sin of the church, and in its own nature tendeth to the corruption thereof, yea, it defiles the communion, Hag. ii. 13; "and every one makes himself guilty of the pollution who doth not endeavour, as much as in him lieth, to remove such offences." In a

Cartwr.
Cate. of
Christ. Rel.
p. 303, 304.

Neces. Dis.
p. 171, 172.

T. C. i. i. p.
5j.

See p. 130,
138.

Rev. ii. 20.
1 Cor. v. 6.
Curt. Chu.
Pow. p. 20.
D. Ames de
Conse. l. iv.
p. 212, 213.

he being a Christian, and desirous to be a partaker and joined with the multitude in the ecclesiastical prayers upon the last day of Easter vigils, could not be admitted until he had first rendered an account of his faith, and coupled himself with them which for their sins were examined, and placed in the room of penitents; for,

except he should have done this, he could not be admitted. Therefore, because he was faulty in many things, he willingly obeyed, and declared, by his works, his sincere and religious mind towards God." *Eusebius's Eccl. Hist.* book vi. ch. xxxiv. in the Greek; in Dr. Hanner's translation, sect. 33.]

word, "this mixture, which ariseth by toleration, much hinders the comfort and edification of the godly."^t

As in all the rest, so in this point the Nonconformists and we are of judgments alike, and it is our great grief that they will not join with us in practice also, and make themselves members of such true visible churches as here they have well described; for so should God's name be glorified, the gospel propagated, Satan's and antichrist's kingdom much weakened, and themselves obtain mercy in the great day of the Lord. They pray, "let thy kingdom come," but how do they think that ever they shall behold the beauty and *glory thereof, seeing they resolve not to set their hands unto the raising of it up, but do leave the work wholly to the magistrate; so that if the arm of flesh will not build a spiritual temple for the Lord, he is likely for their part, to have none at all; but whether such courses will not prove ill at last, I leave it to themselves to think of.

* [169]

SECT[ION] II.

[TESTIMONIES FROM NONCONFORMIST WRITERS WHICH PROVE
IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AN ENTIRE DEPARTURE
FROM THIS CONSTITUTION OF A TRUE VISIBLE CHURCH
OF CHRIST.]

We heard before what a true visible church is; now it follows, that we show how every way contrary to the former pattern the English assemblies are said to be

^t [Doctor Ames's *De Consc[ientia]*, &c.,] l. iv. pp. 212, 213. [In B. M. copy, p. 227.]

by the Nonconformists. First, they acknowledge that their reformation at first after popery was not rightly founded, because neither then nor ever since was there any profession of faith publicly made by the persons which entered into church estate; but indeed it was then held, and so it is at this present, a sufficient thing to be members of their churches, if men come to their service and sacraments, take the oath of allegiance, and be conformable to their wicked ceremonies; whosoever doth this, passeth for a Protestant; [and] howsoever in practice he be a Papist, Arminian, &c., yet is he more regarded than the most sincere Christians, whom they call Puritans; and by this means it is, that in the bosom of their church are swarms of atheists, idolaters, papists, erroneous, and heretical sectaries, witches, charmers, sorcerers, murderers, thieves, adulterers, *liars, blasphemers, oppressors, voluptuous persons,¹ whose god is their belly.^v

Moreover, such is the great ignorance of God and his truth among them, that the greatest multitude by many parts do not understand the Lord's prayer,² or the articles of faith, or the doctrine and use of the sacraments. There are not five among five score which do understand the necessary grounds and principles of religion; but many thousands which are men and women grown, if a man ask them how they shall be saved, they cannot tell.^{3 w}

^v ["In the bosom of the church are many atheists, blasphemers, oppressors, drunkards, adulterers, and voluptuous persons, whose belly is their god; all which, though they will profess God in word, yet by their works they deny him, &c."—*Perkins, Wm.* on *Matt.* vi. 9, [*Works*,] vol. iii., p. 126, [ed. 1618.]

^w ["It would make a man's heart bleed to see in what a case multitudes

of people are for want of teaching, and yet you say they be well. The greatest multitude by many parts do not understand the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, or the articles of the faith, or the doctrine and use of the sacraments in any competent measure. There be thousands which be men and women grown, which if a man ask them how they shall be saved, they cannot tell,"]—*Dialogue*

Fall of B.
p. 30.

Curt. Chu.
Pow. p. 54.

¹ D. Chat.
Serm. on
Rom. xii.
pag. 65, 66.
Neces. Dis.
p. 33.

Mr. Perk.
on Mat. vi.
ver. 9. p.
126, vol. iii.
² Dialog.
concern.
Strif. of
the Chur.
pa. 99, 100.

³ Mr. Giff.
count. div.
pa. 48.

⁴ Plea of
the Inno-
cent, p. 218.

Mr. Nichols,⁴ esteemed a forward preacher amongst them, saith, "We find by great experience (and I have now five and twenty years observed it), that in those places where there is no preaching and private conferring of the minister and the people, the most part have as little knowledge of God and of Christ, as Turks and Pagans:"^x and to prove this he gives an example in his own flock; "for I have been in a parish (saith he) of four hundred communicants, and marvelling that my preaching was so little regarded, I took upon me to confer with every man and woman before they received the communion: and I asked them of Christ,—what he was in his person? his office? how sin came into the world? what punishment for sin? what becomes of our bodies, being rotten in the graves? and lastly, whether it were possible for a man to live so uprightly, that by well-doing he might win heaven? In all the former questions, I scarce found ten in the hundred to have any knowledge; but in the last question, scarce one but did affirm that a man might be saved by his own well-doing, and *that he trusteth he did so live, that by God's grace he should obtain everlasting life, by serving of God and good prayers."^y

* [171]

Quest. con-
cer. Chur.
of Wom.
pag. 63.

And it is no wonder that the condition of the people is generally thus, seeing they think that all the service of God do lie in churching crossing, kneeling, and being houselled (as they call it) at Easter: and as for preaching, they hold it a superfluous and needless ceremony; and therefore, when their service is done, they take it, they

concerning the Strife of the Church, pp. 99, 100. [D. W. L. copy.]

^x [Plea of the Innocent, p. 218. [D. W. L. copy, p. 212. It was written by Josias Nichols, to prove "that the ministers and people falsely

termed Puritans, are injuriously slandered for enemies and troublers of the state:" and printed in 1602.]

^y [Ibid. in D. W. L. copy, pp. 212, 213.]

may lawfully go out of the church, though the minister be ready to go into the pulpit.

Moreover, they say that the greatest number of their people are so wicked and vile, that were it not to save their purses, and for the laws of the kingdom, which do constrain and compel them to make some outward profession, they would make none at all. For, as Mr. Fenner saith: "Every man followeth the pride, covetousness, whoredom, drunkenness, [and lusts] of his own heart, and no man remembereth Joseph; the bars are filled with pleadings, and the streets are full of the cries of the poor, fulness of meat and contempt is among us, and who considereth? yet if this our sin were only against men, and not against God, there might be some hope. But when the mouth of the blasphemous swearer is not tied up, and the hands of the idolatrous generation of Atheists and profane persons be not chained; when the most holy and precious word of God is manifestly contemned; the joyful and heavenly tidings of salvation so negligently and ungratefully trodden under foot; the true and faithful messengers pursued, arraigned, *and divers * [172] ways afflicted: then, if the old world for malicious imaginations, Sodom and Gomorrah for pride, fulness of meat, and unmercifulness; if Jerusalem, for abusing God's prophets and wilfulness were [wofully] destroyed, what may we poor careless people look for, if we do not repent, but, (as it is almost universally feared) speedy ruin and utter desolation."²

Another [Puritan] saith: "What Christian heart is so stony that doth not mourn? what eye so dry that doth not shed tears? yea, rather gush out with tears, to consider and behold the misery of our supposed glorious

Mr. Hern.
on Psa. li.
pag. 309.
Cathol.
Confer.
pag. 164.
M. Giffard
Dialog.
between a
Pap. and
Prot. p. 38.
1 Prefa. to
his Coun-
terp.

² [Counter[poison], Prefa[ce]; [found at p. 414, in Part of a Register, &c. D. W. L.]

church, by the spiritual nakedness, blindness, and poverty thereof? I mean the great ignorance, the superficial worship of God, the fearful blasphemies and swearings in houses and streets: so also the direful cursings, the open contempt of the word and sacraments, the wicked profanations of the Lord's days, the dishonour of superiors, the pride, the cruelty, the fornications, the covetousness, the usuries, and other the like abominations, almost as grievous as either heretofore in the time, or now in the places of popery, when and where there was no preaching at all of the gospel.

Defen. of
certain ar-
gum. ag.
G. Powel,
pag. 61.

Neces. Dis.
p. 95.

It is also further testified, that the holy things among them are prostituted, and set open to adulterers, fornicators, drunkards, and all kind of vicious and sinful livers. They set no porters at their church doors to keep out the polluted, but every unclean person is permitted to enter freely. I say, all may come boldly to the Lord's supper; they look after nothing but this, that they kneel,^a which if they do but observe, be their life and religion then what it will, it matters not. Thus are the mysteries of God profaned, in that they *communicate with papists and other unclean people.

Plain De-
clar. of
Eccles. Disc.
p. 172.
Curt. Chu.
Pow. p. 40.

* [173]

Neces. Dis-
p. 174.

To draw unto a conclusion. Not only are their congregations said to be unrightly constituted, and to be impure and unholy lumps, but, (which is the depth of misery) they have no means (as they stand) of reformation; for the wholesome remedies appointed by the Lord to keep out unworthy persons,^b to preserve pure and clean God's ordinances, and to take away offences, is not among them; and here the reader may see what the reason is, that they say the walls of Sion lie even with the ground,

^a [Plain Declar[ation, or A
Learned Discourse] of Ecclesiastical
Discipline,] p. 172.]

^b [Necess[ity of] Disc[ipline,] p.
174, [175, in the edition of 1574.]

and they have not scarce the face of a church.^c For if it be as these men report, it is Babel, no Bethel, which they have erected. I could name others of them which write the same things, but we have enough to raise our conclusion, the which I will lay down thus:—

Supplicat.
pag. 67.
I Admon.

All true visible churches, gathered and planted according to God's word, consisted in their constitution of saints only.

But the churches of England, after popery, were not so constituted; but on the contrary, for the greatest number, of profane people, even mockers and contemners of religion, as atheists, idolaters, sorcerers, blasphemers, and all sorts of miscreants and wicked livers.

Therefore, the churches of England are not true visible churches, gathered and planted according to God's word.

There is never a part of this argument, that they can deny, unless they will let fall their own principles. For the assumption, I make no question but it will pass without exception, and none of them will have the face to oppose it, considering how generally the thing hath been affirmed, and still is upon all occasions, *both in word and * [174] writing. Now, that the proposition may appear as true also, I will prove the same, [First,] By scriptures. [Secondly,] By reasons. [Thirdly,] By the testimony of the learned. Of all which in the next section.

^c [Supplicat[ion to Parliament, by John Penry,] p. 67, [D. W. L. copy, 1578.]

["I say that we are so scarce come to the outward face of a church rightly reformed, that although some

truth be taught by some preachers, yet no preacher may, without great danger of the laws, utter all truth comprised in the book of God."—*II Admonition to Parliament*, p. 40, D. W. L. copy.]

SECT[ION] III.

[THE CONCLUSION, FROM THE FOREGOING STATEMENTS, THAT
THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IS NO TRUE CHURCH OF CHRIST,
AFFIRMED AND SUPPORTED.]

If we take a strict view of all the churches which the Lord hath constituted since the beginning of the world, it will appear that at the orderly gathering and planting, the members of them were all holy and good. I here intend of visible and external holiness, and so far as men may judge, and not of that which is within, and hid from us. For I doubt not but in God's sight the purest congregation on earth might consist at first of good and bad, and yet of men, every person to be judged truly faithful and sanctified, until any one by his iniquity (outwardly committed) appeared otherwise. Not to speak of the church of angels, which God created in heaven, and which were all holy and good, till some by transgression fell away. Neither of it in Paradise, consisting of two persons, and both true believers. After the fall, the constitution of the [first] church, in the covenant of grace, was of good matter, and such was the Lord's care to have the purity of it still preserved, that he thrust out Cain from the same, for the great wickedness which he fell into.

D. Field
of the Ch.
p. 3, 4, &c.
II Pet. ii. 4.
Jude 6.
Eccl. vii. 29.

Ge. xii. 2.
and 17. [1—
23.]
Rom. iv. 11.
Joh. xv. 19.
* [175]
II Pet. i. 4.
Psa. xlv.
[10,] 11.
Rev. xviii. 4.
II Cor. vi.
[1—18.]

[FIRST. *Arguments derived from Scripture.*] The Lord gave not circumcision to Abram, the seal of the righteousness of faith, until he left his father's house, *and that idolatrous place wherein he had lived, which signifieth to us that all men must necessarily come out of the world, and from worldly corruptions, or else they are incapable to have a church covenant in Christ, confirmed unto them of God.

As for the visible churches planted by the apostles, it

is evident that in their collection, they consisted of such and none other as were called by the gospel, confessed their sins, believed, walked in the Spirit, and separated themselves from the false state, in which they stood members before. Such a beginning had the congregations in Rome, Corinth, Galatia, Ephesus, Philippi, Colosse, Thessalonica, &c., and who dares affirm that there was one man or woman admitted a member at the constitution of any of these churches, which had been known to be an ill liver, and did not first manifest sound repentance thereof?

The material temple was a type of the visible churches under the gospel; now, we read that it was built from the very foundation, of costly stones, of cedars, algum, fir, and the like choice and special trees, and those all prepared aforehand, hewed, and perfect for the building, so that neither hammer, nor axe, nor any tool was to be heard in the house, in the building of it; no common or vile thing was used towards it, neither might any polluted person enter into it, and offer, until he had repented and embraced the faith, and been cleansed from his filthiness. By the gates of the house were porters set, to keep the unworthy out; upon the altar there might be offered no unclean *beast; no, nor that which was clean, having a blemish upon it. What in all this was signified? Surely this: Such as will build a spiritual house for the Lord to dwell in, must be a holy people; for he is of that infinite purity, that he will not vouchsafe his special presence unto profane companies, which join themselves together; and therefore, let it be far from all men to prepare a place for him with such trash, or to defile his holy things with such unclean persons, or to offend his nostrils with the stench of such sacrifices.

Rom i. 7.
I Cor. i. 2.
Gal. iii. 3.
Ephes i. 13.
Phil. i. 1.
Colos. i. 2.
I Thes. i. 5. 9.

I King vi.
1—18.

II Chro. ii.
8, 9.

II Chro.
xxiii. 19.
Lev. xxii.
19.
and xxvii.
11.
* [176]

Pea. v. 4, 5.
Hab. i. 13.

[SECONDLY.] The *reasons* upon which our proposition is grounded, are these:—

[*First.*] All wicked men are forbidden expressly by the word of God from meddling with his covenant or ordinances. Now, if men to escape temporal punishment are afraid to transgress against the laws of worldly princes, much more fearful should they be to break his, who is the King of kings, and will inflict for it upon their souls and bodies torments eternally.

Psa. i. 16.
Isa. xxxv. 8.
Zech. xiv.
21.
Rev. xxi.
ult.

[*Secondly.*] That which destroyeth a church, and makes it either to become a false church, or no church at all, cannot be a true church, or be true matter whereof it is made; but men visibly wicked and profane, make the church a synagogue of Satan, Babylon, Sodom, Egypt; and so to be spued out and removed.

[*Thirdly.*] It is against sense and common reason that a church should be constituted of unholy people; for as in a material house, the wood and stones must be first prepared, and then laid orderly in the building, so in the spiritual, men and women must by the word of God *necessarily be first reformed before they are any way fit to have any place therein.

See Matt.
iii. 2.
Act ii. 37,
41.
* [177]

[*Fourthly.*] They which have no right to the holy things of God in the church, are not to be admitted into it, neither is that church which is gathered of such persons, rightly constituted; but men of wicked conversation have no right to the holy things of God in the church, and therefore that church, which is gathered of such, is not rightly constituted.

Ephes. ii. 1.
Mat. vii. 6.

[*Fifthly.*] They cannot perform the services and duties of members, for they are spiritually dead. If a master will not covenant with one to be his servant, which hath in him no natural life, much less, &c.

Rom. xii. 1.
1 Pet ii. 5.

[*Sixthly.*] They have not Christ for their head, and therefore cannot be of his body; for as in the natural body there must be first a natural union of the parts with the head, before there can be any action of natural communion between the head and the members, or one member and another; so in this spiritual body, the members must be first united with Christ the head, and become one with him, before they can any way partake in his benefits, or have communion one with another, as members of the same body under him the head.

[*Seventhly.*] They are altogether incapable of this covenant; for as a woman which hath been once a wife, cannot marry again with another man, until her first husband be deceased, or she from him [be] lawfully divorced, so neither can these be married to the Lord, till they have mortified their corruptions, and put the world and Satan away, unto which before they were (as it were) married.

[*Eighthly.*] The godly and wicked are contraries, guided *and led by different causes: now two contraries are not *capable of one and the same form.

[THIRDLY.] For this we have the judgment of the learned also. "There must be (saith Molierus) a profession of true religion, and obedience yielded thereto, at least outwardly, to become a member of the visible church." Beza saith, "He is rightly joined to the church which separates himself from the wicked." Paul calls the Roman saints (saith Aretius) "to put a difference between their former estate wherein they lived, which was unholy and impure, and the condition to which they were now called." Piscator affirms "The matter of a particular church to be a company of believers." Mr. Jacob, in his definition of Christ's visible church, saith, "that those which join in a spiritual outward society, or body politic

Joh. xv. 2,
4, 5.
Rom. viii.

Rom. vii. 2.

Hos. ii. 19,
20.

Gal. v. 18[—
26.
* [178]

In Psal. xv.

Annot. in
Act. ii. 40.

In Rom. i. 7.

Volumen.
Thes.
Theolog.
p. 356.

together, must be a faithful people."^d Mr. Bradshaw saith, "They must be a people called and separated from the world, and the false worship and ways thereof, by the word." The same speaketh Mr. Attersoll, and allegeth these scriptures for it, Gen. iv. 26, and xii. 1; Josh. xxiv. 2, 3, and xxiii. 7, 8; Num. vi. 2; Lev. xx. 24, 26; Joh. xv. 19; Acts ii. 40, 41.

Exposi. on
Numb.
xxiii. v. 9.
p. 158.

1 See Mr.
Fenner
Sacra.
Theolog.
1. vi. c. 3.
p. 90.

I could name many others,¹ which write the same thing, but there is no use thereof. Only it cannot be amiss to show how the church of England makes this an article of her faith, as the prelates have published it in her behalf.

Articl. of
Relig. 19.

"The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments duly be ministered, according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same."

• [179]

* Thus the proposition being proved, and the assumption acknowledged to be true, the conclusion must needs stand firm, (viz.) that the churches of England are not true visible churches, rightly gathered and planted, according to the scripture, and therefore by necessary consequence lawfully to be separated from.

Before I end this point, I will here lay down some few syllogisms, entirely made up between the Inconformists and Conformists, all concluding the forenamed position.

[*Argument the First.*]

That church which hath not a lawful ministry, is not a true visible church.

But the church of England hath not a lawful ministry.

Ergo, the church of England is not a true visible church.

Babel, not
Beth. pag.
108.

^d ["The Divine Beginning and Institution of Christ's church," p. 2. D. W. L. copy.]

The proposition is affirmed of the Conformists, as Burton, Sutcliffe, &c. The assumption is granted by the Nonconformists, as we have in the first chapter largely showed.

[*Argument the Second.*]

The true visible church of Christ, is a society of believing and faithful people, and a communion of saints (so say the Conformists.)

But the church of England is not a society of believing and faithful people, a communion of saints, (thus write the Nonconform[ists,] see p. 169, &c.)

as *Challeng.*
chap. i. p.
33, 34.

Sutel. Chal-
leng. p. 40,
& Answ. to
the Excep.
p. 65.

Ergo, the church of Engl[and] is not a true visible church.

[*Argument the Third.*]

The true church is the king's daughter, described in Psal. xlv.

But the church of England is not the king's daughter so described.

Burton in
Answ. to
H. Cholm.
p. 100.

Therefore the church of England is not the true church of Christ.

The proposition is laid down by the Conformists, whereby they prove Rome a false church. The *assump- * [180] tion is the Nonconformists': for if they say the truth, their members have not those qualities belonging to the king's daughter; neither their priests nor people. See pag. 15, 16, 39, 137, 169, 170, [*original pagination.*]

[*Argument the Fourth.*]

The true church of Christ is the flock of Christ.

But the church of England is not the true flock of Christ.

Therefore, the church of England is not the true church of Christ.

The proposition, say the Conformists, is undeniable, Song

Burton in
the same
Book,
pag. 99.

i. 6, 7; Acts xx. 28; Joh. x. 16. The assumption is proved by the Nonconformists' principles, compared with Joh. x. 3, 4, 27. Christ's flock hear his voice, and know it, and follow it; but the church of England, submitting to an unlawful ministry, worship, and discipline, hear not Christ's voice, nor know, nor acknowledge, nor follow it, but the voice of antichrist.

[*Argument the Fifth.*]

Sutcliffe
Challeng.
ch. i, pag.
6, Arg. 9.

The church of God doth keep the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, without addition, alteration, or corruption (thus the Conformists.)

But the church of England keeps not the doctrine of the apostles and prophets, without addition, alteration, and corruption (say the Nonconformists, see pa. 108.)

Ergo, she is not the church of God.

[*Argument the Sixth.*]

The same
Book, p. 13,
Arg. 19.

No society can be termed God's church, which retaineth not God's true worship, (thus say the Conformists.)

But the church of England doth not retain God's true worship, (say the Nonconformists, see pag. 78 to 113.)

Ergo, she cannot be termed God's church.

[*Argument the Seventh.*]

Id. p. 27,
Arg. 52.

The true church consisteth not of fierce lions, wolves, tigers, and such like wild and fierce beasts, but of sheep and lambs, which learn of Christ, and are meek, humble, gentle, &c., (so say the Conformists.)

* [181]

But the English *church doth consist of lions, wolves, tigers, and such like wild and fierce beasts, and not of sheep and lambs, which learn of Christ, and are meek, humble, gentle, &c., (thus affirm the Nonconformists, see pag. 31, &c., 145, 169, 170.)

Therefore, it is not a true church.

Here the reader seeth clearly how the Conform[ists,]

major, and the Nonconform[ists'] minor, make up entire syllogisms of separatism. And how they will be able to unloose these knots, I know not, except by revoking utterly their own grounds; which if either of them do, yet I doubt not, but we shall well enough be able to maintain them against men.

SECT[ION] IV.

[EXCEPTIONS TO THE FOREGOING ARGUMENTS AND CONCLUSIONS, TAKEN BY MR. DAYRELL IN HIS TREATISE ON THE CHURCH, CONSIDERED AND REFUTED.]

Now we come to take a view of such exceptions, as may seem to carry most weight against our former conclusion; and these are laid down chiefly by Mr. Dayrell, in his *Treatise of the Church*.^e This man made a shift to fill up there, with words, above thirty sheets of paper; the which subject, if some men had took in hand, they would easily have comprised all the matter of it in [twelve] or [fourteen] leaves. My purpose is not to follow him in his idle repetitions, neither to speak much of his contradictions and absurdities; but, in short, to give a full answer to his tedious and tiresome discourses. Touching the description which he makes of a visible church, he saith thus:—"All pa. 29, & 41. that be and remain under the voice and call of God,

^e [This book is called "A Treatise of the Church, written against them of the separation, commonly called Brownists. Wherein the true doctrine of a visible church is taught, and the church of England, proved to be a true church; the Brownists' false

doctrine of the visible church is convinced; their shameful perversion of the holy scriptures discovered; their arguments to prove the church of England a false church answered." By John Dayrell. "London, 1617."

that is, the ministry of the word, &c., be of the visible church.”^f

[182]

* *Answ[er].* This is a false and profane error:^g for,

[*First.* If this were true,] then the vilest heretics that ever have been in the world may be members thereof, as the Appellites, Cerdonians, Macedonians, Paternians, Patricians, &c., such as held two contrary beginnings or gods, the one good the other evil; such as held that Christ is not risen from the dead; denied the Holy Ghost to be God; affirm the body to be created of the devil, &c.

[*Secondly.*] Then may excommunicate persons be of the church, before they acknowledge their sins; yea, Turks, Jews, and infidels.

Eze. xvi. 25.

[*Thirdly.*] Whereto leadeth this position, but indeed to make the church a very stinking ditch, to receive all filthiness, and to be like the whorish woman, which openeth her knees to every passenger, contrary to the pattern given us of God, Rev. xxi. ult.

[*Fourthly.*] If this were true, then should no man for any offence be censured, so long as he remains under the voice and call of God; for that which is enough to state one in the church, is enough to keep him there still, if he retain it.

^f [“All that be and remain under the voice and call of God, (that is, the ministry of the word, whereby God stretcheth forth his hands, crieth aloud, and calleth upon the children of men, that they would repent and believe, and so be saved,) be of the visible church.” — *Dayrell on the Church*, p. 29.]

Whatsoever people or nation is within the daily voice and call of God, calling upon them to repent and

believe, that so they may be saved, the same is a true visible church.

But the people generally of England are within the voice and call of God, daily calling upon them to repent and believe, that they may be saved.

Therefore the people of England are a true visible church.” — *Ibid*, p. 41.]

^g [Assumption.]

[*Fifthly.*] He speaks contrary to the judgment of all Reformists and Conformists that ever I have heard or read of, and contrary to his own writing in other places : for in pag. 22, 35, &c., he defines a church to be a company called out from the rest of the world, and such as do submit themselves to the true worship of God.^b Now there is a great difference between this calling from the world, submitting to the true worship of God, &c., and only to be under the ministry of the word.

[*Sixthly.*] I cannot tell from whom Mr. Dayr[ell] received this strange doctrine, unless it were the heretic Eunomius, which taught, that so *men were of his religion, * [183] it was no matter what their conversation was, nor how many sins they committed.ⁱ He doth often affirm in his book, that it is not faith and repentance, but the profession thereof, which is necessary to the making of a member of the visible church.^j Mark how blasphemously he speaks ; intimating, if men with their mouth speak some few good words, they may be taken lawfully into the communion of the saints, and partake with the rest in the sacraments and prayer, albeit known to be notorious murderers, thieves, traitors, sorcerers, witches, whoremongers, &c.,

August. de
Hæret.
c. 54.

Pag. 244.

^b ["We learn (and that from the Holy Ghost) to define the true visible church thus:—*It is a company of people professing the Christian or true religion: or thus, it is a company called out of the profession of Christian religion.*"]

This quotation with its *side note*, affords positive proof that John Dayrell saw the truth which he was thus endeavouring to evade. Without his *side note*, his definition means *nothing* : but with it the reasoning of Canne becomes unanswerable ; on p.

35 also, Dayrell affirms again, that "The visible church" "*is a company of men enjoying and submitting themselves to the true worship of God.*"

ⁱ Augustine de Heresibus, [book i. article] 54, [Works, vol. vi.]

^j ["I have told you before, and now tell you again, that not faith and repentance, but the profession of them, is necessary to the making of a member of the visible church : and that thereunto the magistrates' law will draw and persuade men."—*Dayrell on the Church*, p. 244.]

and so resolved to live and continue.^k It is very likely this Mr. Dayr[ell] had a great church, seeing he made the
 Mat. vii. 13. door unto it broad and wide, just like the way to hell.

I could here lay down many gross absurdities, which might be truly concluded from his words, viz., that a church cannot cast out some obstinate sinners, neither is she and the world to be distinguished, &c., but because the vanity and evil of this speech is enough already showed, I purposely pass them over.

Pag. 35. We have seen one of Mr. Day[rell's] definitions; now follows another. "Let there be an assembly, joined together in prayer, hearing the word, and receiving the sacraments, according to Christ's institution, and it is a true visible church."¹

Answ[er.] It is so indeed, and hence this argument against them may be framed:

If in the ecclesiastical assemblies of England, there is neither prayer, preaching, nor sacraments administered, according to Christ's institution, then *are they all false churches.

[184]

But the first is true,
 Therefore the second.

The proposition hath sufficient confirmation, from their principles before named; the assumption is certain and manifest, by the doctrine and description which he here makes of a true visible church, and there lieth against it no exception.

^k ["The visible church is a mixed company, compounded of Christians, true and false: the greatest part being the worst."—*Dayrell on the Church*, p. 23.]

"Usually the greatest part of the visible church are Christians in name only, hypocrites, wicked, and ungodly men, reprobates, which though they

profess Christian religion, are in truth irreligious; and though they profess holiness, are indeed profane; the lesser part of the visible church, having that faith in Christ, that piety, and holiness, whereof all make profession."—*Ibid*, p. 28.]

¹ [Treatise on the Church, p. 35.]

In the next page he delivers a paradox, (viz.) that men Pag. 36. outwardly may submit to true worship, and yet be irreligious and profane.^m Now this is either falsely or foolishly spoken. If he mean of visible profaneness and irreligion, then it is a contradiction, and indeed plain nonsense, for to say, that a person may outwardly submit to God, and yet outwardly be profane and ungodly.ⁿ If he intended of secret and inward irreligion of the heart; in this sense it is true, but answereth nothing at all to the matter, for which he brings it.

Here also he layeth down Mr. Ainsw[orth's]^o words, as he saith; unto which he makes no direct reply, but runs to another matter, whereof he had now no cause at all to speak: he denieth that either the Papists or Anabaptists do profess true religion, although they profess some true and sound doctrine. What moved him thus to think, I know not, unless it were because these have many

^m ["From whence these conclusions do follow: first, That an assembly may be a true visible church, though it profess not the religion that is pure and undefiled, nor live under a pure and sincere worship of God, but such as is partly impure and corrupted: secondly, that a man may be of the true visible church, though he be not religious and godly, but in deed and in truth irreligious and profane, so that he professeth the true religion: and that such may be, and are of the visible church, who only outwardly submit themselves to the true worship of God, though they be not true worshippers, and do not worship God in spirit and in truth. This *profession of the true religion and submission* I speak of is all in all in this case."—*Dayrell on the Church*, p. 36.]

ⁿ [Probably thus—; for, to say

that a person may outwardly submit to God, and yet outwardly be profane and ungodly [is absurd]; if he intended [to speak] of secret and inward *irreligion* of the *heart*, in this sense it is true, but answereth nothing at all to the matter for which he brings it.—Ed.]

* [Mr. Ainsworth was from about 1600 the pastor or doctor of the Ancient English church sojourning in Amsterdam; after his death, which was, it is believed, procured by poison administered by a Jew, in 1622, John Canne was chosen as his successor. Francis Johnson was another of Canne's predecessors in that church, and he evinces great affection for each in the fervour and force with which he defends their reasonings.—Ed.]

errors in their religion; now if this reason will stand firm and good against them, then it must needs follow that the church of England professeth not true religion, though she profess some true and sound doctrines, in regard she maintaineth many lies and vile errors. Mr. Gilby,² a forward minister, reckoneth up, above *sevenscore gross points of popery,^p remaining in their church, and many others of them have done the like, as I have in this treatise manifested. And I think it would ask a better wit and head, than ever Mr. Dayr[ell] had, to prove that there are half so many corruptions in the religion professed by the Eng[lish] Anabaptists.

² In the
Table after
Sold. of
Barw.
* [185]

From page 41 to 51 there are certain reasons (as he calls them) to prove the Church of England and their parish assemblies true visible churches. As for the first of them, I deny both the proposition and assumption; he saith, Whatsoever people or nation is within the daily voice and call of God, &c. the same is a true visible church. This is untruly affirmed, as I have proved before; and for his speaking of it again, it sheweth the more his ignorance in the way of God; for will any wise man take lions, wolves, foxes, &c. into his sheepfold? sow tares or darnel in his garden, plant thistles or thorns in his orchard? The church is the Lord's sheepfold, his garden, orchard, &c., and therefore, if Mr. Dayr[ell] had been so wise as he should, he would not have spoken so corruptly, but have given rather counsel to keep out unclean persons, considering what the prophet saith; holiness becometh thy house, O Jehovah, to length of days. Again: we may perceive by his words that he understood not the nature of a visible church; for, as to the constitution of it, there belongs a holy people as the matter, so also a uniting and coupling of

^p [Mr. Gilby's Tables of papal errors retained in the English hierarchy, are preserved in *Part of a Register*, D. W. L.]

them together, which is the form whereof it consisteth; as the constitution of a commonwealth or of a city is a gathering and knitting of people together in a civil polity, so the *constitution of the commonwealth of Israel (as the * [186] church is called), and of the city of God, the new Jerusalem, is a gathering and uniting of people into a spiritual polity; the form of which polity is order, as the philosophers acknowledged, calling polity an order of a city;^a which order is requisite in every administration of the church, as the apostle teacheth, "and chiefly in the collection thereof; and therefore next unto faith in God, it is to be esteemed most necessary for all holy societies. This was one thing for which Paul rejoiced in the church at Colosse, as for their steadfast faith in Christ, so their order also. But Mr. Day[rell] will have his church without order or form, and what is it then but a mere ataxy, or confused chaos, a state only fit for the devil's goats to be in which desire liberty, and not for Christ's sheep which are to make straight paths to their feet.

Eph. ii. 12.

τὸ ξιν τῆς
πόλεως.
Aristot. iii.
Polit. c. i.

1 Cor. xiv.
40.

Col. ii. 5.

Heb. xlii.
13.

He saith, there lieth no exception against the assumption. And why so? because their pastors and teachers are true ministers. Methinks the man should have been ashamed to have begged so much at one time, but, to let his foolishness pass,

[First,] We do deny them to be lawful officers, and have brought their own hands against them for it.

^a [Τάξις τῆς πόλεως. Aristotle. Politics, book iii. ch. 1; the words under the reference are: 'Ἡ δὲ πολιτεία, τῶν τὴν πόλιν οἰκούντων ἐστὶ τάξις τις. Polity is a certain order of those who inhabit the city; yet not simply of those who dwell therein, but of those who are citizens; and none are rightly designated citizens but such as legally

partake in its government. The idea of Aristotle in this chapter may be everywhere traced in the writings of Paul, and his perfect citizen in the church is a new man in Christ Jesus, acting in communion with the Spirit, and lawfully commended to the confidence and fidelity of the brethren. See Eph. ii. iii. iv.—ED.]

Eze. xvi. 49.
See before
pag. 43.

* [187]

Secondly, He writes here against his brethren, yea (and I think) against his own conscience; for the greatest number of their b[ishops], priests, and deacons, are dumb dogs, ignorant asses, &c., such as either cannot, or through pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness (Sodom's sins), will not preach,^r and therefore it is untruly said that the people generally of England are * within the daily voice and call of God.

Pag. 176,
177.

[*Thirdly.*] The latter part of his reason is wholly against himself; for whereas his words import that the people generally of England are impenitent sinners and unbelievers, it must follow necessarily that they are altogether incapable of any church estate, and so much we have formerly proved.^s Were it not a ridiculous thing to set up a house with wood and stones, and afterward to take axes, saws, hammers, and other tools to cut, saw, and fit them for the building? yet such an unskilful builder Mr. Dayr[ell] sheweth himself in his whole book; for he will have idolaters, adulterers, thieves, conjurers, murderers, and any villain in the land, to be placed in the Lord's spiritual house, and afterward will have means used to prepare them for the same.

See pag.
78, &c.

Not to contend about the proposition of his second argument,^t howbeit it is very faulty, I deny the assump[tion,] viz. that the people of England do enjoy and outwardly submit themselves to the true worship of God; for the worship which they have is affirmed of the Nonconformists to be antichristian and unlawful; but let us hear his reason.

^r [The old pagination of this work.]

^s [Of this work following the original pagination.]

^t ["Whatsoever people do enjoy, and outwardly submit themselves to the true worship of God, they are a true visible church.

But the people of England do enjoy and outwardly submit themselves to the true worship of God.

Therefore, the people of England are a true visible church."—*Dayrell, &c.* p. 42, and further.]

If^u such as both in their life and at their death served God with the very same worship [as] we do, have in that worship been saved, then is the worship we now have true divine worship.

But the first is true,
Therefore the second.

If Mr. Bradshaw had found such a reason in Mr. Johnson's^v writing, he would surely have called him idle head, cracked-brained, fool, &c.; but I leave such terms to men of his intemperate spirit, and do thus answer:

*[*First.*] A Papist, Arminian, or Anabaptist, may say as * [188] much and upon as good ground, and who dares deny but many of their religion have found mercy with the Lord? must it therefore follow that their worship is good? indeed, Mr. Dayr[ell's] logic so concludeth it.

[*Secondly.*] Men may serve God with an outward^{Rom. ix. 33.} worship, not agreeable to his word, and yet be saved; for who knoweth how infinitely good he is to his poor creature?

[*Thirdly.*] It is apparent this man had a very ill case in hand, that could not tell how to maintain it but by revealing the secret and hid counsel of the Lord; for I wonder how he came to know who in their worship have been saved; if he should say in the judgment of charity he thinks thus, then his argument must be of another fashion, namely, that he thinks their worship is true, for otherwise it will want shape and proportion.

[*Fourthly.*] It hath been the constant practice of the

^u ["If such, as both in their life-time and at their death, served God with the very same worship as we do, have in that worship been saved, then is the worship we now have, true divine worship.

But, the first is true:

Therefore the second."] - *Dayrell*, p. 42.]

^v [This is Francis Johnson the predecessor of John Canne in Amsterdam. The "writing" here referred to, would in all probability, be "An Answer to Jacob's Defence of the Churches and Ministry of England," 4to. London, 1600. D. W. L.]

godly to prove their positions by the scriptures, but it is likely he saw that there was no help for him there, and therefore only makes use of this reasonless reason.^w

His third argument is foolish and carnal, and both parts of it false. For

First, it is incident to the best and purest churches upon earth to err and to be deceived, and therefore their sentences and approbations must be examined by God's word.

[*Secondly.*] If the reformed churches do justify the English, therein they condemn greatly their own practice; for in their constitution, ministry, worship, and government, they are as opposite as light and darkness one to the other; and so much the Nonconformists confess.^x

I Admonition.

* [169]

[*Thirdly.*] Seeing the prophets, * Christ, and his apostles condemn their church, their case is never a whit the better, though all men in the world speak well of it.

^w [The following passages show how exactly, when not engaged in actual controversy with the Separatists, the Nonconformists agree with Canne in his conclusions.

"Every man is to look to himself that he communicate not with the evil of the time."—*Bradshaw's Protestation of the King's Supremacy*, sec. 30.

"It is *sin* against Christ the sole head of the church, for any one of his ministers (especially in the administration of divine things,) either by word or signs, solemnly to profess and acknowledge a spiritual homage to an usurped authority in the church."—*Bradshaw's Twelve Arguments, Argument 10*, ed. 1660.

"Those that have power of their own will and pleasure to bring into God's service some indifferent things, may bring in any indifferent thing;

those that may bring in without special warrant from God, piping into his service, may as well bring in dancing also; those that have authority to join to the sacrament of baptism the sign of the cross, have authority also (no doubt) to join to the sacrament of the supper flesh, broth, butter, or cheese, &c. if they will; yea, those that have power to make peculiar forms of religion and worship, have power to invent a religion and worship of their own."—*Bradshaw on Worship*, chap. v. sec. 14, ed. 1660.

"Being therefore parts of divine worship, and not parts of *true* divine worship, because not commanded of God, they are parts of *false* divine worship; for that divine worship which is not true worship, is false worship." *Ibid.* chap. vii. sec. 20.]

^x [I Adm[onition, &c., D. W. L. copy, throughout.]

[*Fourthly.*] The strictest professors do hold the Church of England, as it is national, provincial, and diocesan, false; howbeit they think some particular congregations in the land to be true.

[*Fifthly.*] With such weapons as these do the Papists fight; and where they can bring one, the others ten, to witness for them and their Romish superstitions; I mean, antiquity, universality, and such like popular reasons, whereby they seek to uphold their cursed kingdom.

Bellarmin.
de Notia
Eccles.

Lastly, It is untruly affirmed, that all the churches of God in the world do acknowledge the people of England to be a true church.^y For there are many which have both professed and proved the contrary.

Now, for his last argument;^z I deny also both parts of it and affirm, that neither the mother nor daughters are true churches; the reason which he layeth down is, as the rest, silly, and most impertinent to prove the thing for which he brings it. The sum and effect of that which he hath written in five or six pages is this, that their worship and religion is true, because in Q[ueen] Mary's days divers martyrs professed the same, and died in it.

Ans[er, *first.*] Here the thing in question is brought for confirmation; the martyrs allowed of their worship; be it so, what then, should he not yet have proved the same

^y ["Whatsoever people all the churches of God in the world do acknowledge to be a true church, the same to be a true church, and so to be accounted.

The people of England, all the churches of God in the world, do acknowledge to be a true church; Therefore, the people of England are a true church, and so to be accounted."—*Dayrell, &c.* p. 44.]

^z ["If the mother, all the people of

England professing true religion, be a true church, then are the daughters, the particular congregations, consisting of such people likewise, true churches; for as is the mother, so are the daughters.

But the Church of England, the mother, is a true church (as hath been proved.)

Therefore, the particular congregations, her daughters, are 'true visible churches.'—*Ibid.* p. 44.]

to be lawful? Yes, doubtless, if he would have written either according to rule, reason, or religion.

• [190] *Secondly.*] If a Papist should suffer death under heathen or *Turks, because he would not deny Christ Jesus, we think he may in some respect be judged a martyr, and yet the Romish worship which he professeth remain still false and idolatrous.

[*Thirdly.*] I desire the reader to mark how absurdly he speaketh; the thing which he undertakes to prove is, that their assemblies are true, for this he allegeth the martyrs, now to what purpose I cannot tell in the world, unless he meant that there was such virtue and efficacy in their sufferings as the whole nation thereby was sanctified and made churches.

Lastly: This reason is one and the same with that which he brought to confirm the second syllogism, save that for the more authority of it, he addeth the name of the martyrs, the insufficiency whereof I have there showed, and thither do refer the reader.

In the conclusion he saith, “Answer me this one argument and so I end. If Mr. Hooper, Mr. Bradford, with others, knowing the corruptions then in the worship and ministry, being the same also with ours now, notwithstanding this knowledge, and not separating, were saved; then men at this day, notwithstanding their knowledge of the corruptions, and not separating because of them, may likewise be saved.” But the first is true; therefore the second.*

Ans[wer.] His former reasons were not more false and foolish than this is wicked and profane; for,

[First,] Wherefore serves it but in truth to teach men to cast off all care in seeking God’s glory, by an even walking, and to do so much of his will as is sufficient to bring

* [Dayrell on the Church, p. 49, 50.]

them to heaven, and no more; thus he counselleth people to be lovers of themselves more than lovers of * God; yea, * [191] to love God for themselves, and to serve him for a reward only; but let all persons, in all places, take heed that they follow not this man's advice; for if they resolve to do no more but what they think will serve their turn to be saved, they will surely miss of that, and for their self-love suffer wrath and vengeance eternally.

[*Secondly.*] Howsoever, I will not judge another man's servant, yet it is more than he or any mortal man that can infallibly tell whether Mr. Bradford, Mr. Hooper, and others, were absolutely saved, and therefore he reasoneth still most childishly to prove his matter by things secret, and known to God only.

[*Thirdly.*] When Luther, Calvin, and others, left the church of Rome, might not any popish priest have said as much to them; if Mr. W., Mr. C., with others knowing the corruptions then in worship, &c.? Now I perceive if Mr. Dayr[ell] had been in their place, he would not have separated from that synagogue of Satan; and to speak the very truth, he could not do it lawfully upon his own grounds.

[*Fourthly.*] That these men knew some corruptions to be in their worship and ministry, I grant it, but not in that kind and degree which the Nonconformists since have manifested; for if they had certainly known that these things were unlawful and antichristian, and their church government taken wholly from the pope, I believe they would not have joined in spiritual communion therewith; and therefore Mr. Da[yrell] shamefully abuseth the reader to say the martyrs saw their corruptions, and they are the same which they have now: whereas he should have proved *that they saw them according to the nature of them, and * [192] as his fellow brethren have since seen them and affirmed

them to be, for unless this can be showed, they differ herein as much from the martyrs as if one sinned ignorantly, and another against his knowledge and conscience.

Phil. iii.
[12—15.]

[*Fifthly.*] The saints are taught of God not to be servants of men, but to live by their own faith, and to press forward toward the mark; and therefore he showeth little skill in the course of religion to set down this or that man's practice for a rule to walk by, unless he had professed himself to be a Familist or Perfectist, and so would make the world believe that none could err which took such for example whom he prescribed to them.

[*Sixthly.*] I cannot tell for what end he propounded this argument; for imagine it should be granted him that the martyrs knew the corruptions of their church, &c., and yet were saved, and so are many now in England which understand the same, what would he from hence conclude? I think there is no man on earth that knows; if there be they might do well, at the next impression of his book, to set it in the margin, for to cover what they can, the man's empty, naked, and absurd writing.

* [193]

Mr. Dayr[ell] having showed his best skill, wit, and learning to prove their parish assemblies true churches; in his second book (according to his division) he attempteth to confute the description which Mr. Barrow and the Brownists (as he maliciously names God's people) have laid down of a true visible church; and about this point he writes more than a hundred and * fifty pages, all the matter whereof (leaving out his battalogies and impertinent speeches) might well have been written in six leaves of paper. But it seems the man wanted no money, and therefore would make it up to his reader in tail, what he could not do in weight, forgetting in the mean time the proverb, A little and good; and also what the learned used to say, the worth of a writing doth not consist in bulk and belly,

but in the sinews, veins, and arteries, which with good blood and spirit may be comprehended in a little body. But let us see how he confutes us.

First. He layeth down our definition of a true visible church, which is, a company of people, called and separated from the world by the word of God, and joined together by voluntary profession of the faith of Christ, in the fellowship of the gospel. Apol. r. 44.

Before we come to examine the reasons (if they may be so termed) which he allegeth against this definition, I desire the reader to mind it well, that we herein do say no more than what, in effect, is fully acknowledged^b by the Nonconformists,¹ Conformists,^c the Church of England,³ the learned generally,⁴ and all the reformed churches⁵ upon earth, as is to be seen in their books here named. Yea, Mr. Brad[shaw],⁶ although no *friend of the Separatists, yet confesseth the whole, as it is here laid down, to be true and good. Notwithstanding, this man cometh boldly forth against us, as if he had been either asleep all his life time, or lived in some unknown parts of the world, and so could not tell what any body had said about this thing.^c

^b [The following is in Dayrell's own work, quoted from the "Counterpoison," p. 208.

"They cavil at our description of a church, when we say, that it is a company of faithful people that truly worship Christ, and readily obey him: this, say these ministers, is utterly untrue, if it be understood of the visible church. This is strange: what would they have us describe the church to be? A company of infidels, or a company of faithful and of infidels together, when Paul teacheth that there is no communion between such? II Cor. vi. 14, 15. Or, should we say a people that falsely worship

Christ? Indeed, if so we held, we might well return to their Church of England, for there is false worship more than enough. The apostle, writing to the visible church of Ephesus, calleth them saints, and the faithful in Christ Jesus: will they say that this also was utterly untrue? Their own articles of religion in England [of 1562, art. 19] say thus, 'The visible church of Christ is a congregation of faithful people,' &c. And is this also untrue?"—*Dayrell on the Church*, p. 58.]

^c ["They [the Nonconformists] hold and maintain that every company, congregation, or assembly of

¹ Fall of Bab. p. 50.
 Cart. Hist. Christ. 1. ii. page 359.
 Dudl. Fenn. Sacra Theolog. lib. vi. cap. iii. pag. 90.
 Neces. Disc. pag. 7.
 * [194]
 Mr. Jacob, Defin. Chur. pag. 2.
² Mr. Burt. Agan. H. Col. p. 100.
 Sutel. Chal. pag. 6, 5.
 Mr. Atters. on Numb. xxiii. 9, pag. 158 and 357.
³ Article of Relig. pag. 13, Art. 19.
⁴ Pet. Mart. in Loc. Commun. pag. 741.
 Ursin. Catech. Explicat. pars 2, pag. 343.
 Alstedius Theolog. Polemic. pars 2, pag. 140.
 Piscat. Volum. Thes. Theolog. pag. 356.
⁵ Harmony of Confes. section x. Belgic Art. 28, and Fren. Art. 26.
⁶ Unreason. of Separation, pag. 107.

And now for his reasons, in which he is as confused as is the subject for which he pleadeth. Notwithstanding such as I find here and there disorderly written of him, I will reduce into some particular heads. The main and chief argument wherewith he fighteth against us, for saying a true visible church is a company of people called and separated from the world, is, because hypocrites and reprobates may be in the church. And to prove this, he is very large and tedious, for I dare say more than half of his book is spent about it, in alleging for it scriptures, examples, and reasons; but a few words will serve for answer to it, in regard he talks of a thing which neither helps him nor disadvantage us, for the question between them and us hath ever been about the true and natural members whereof God's church is orderly gathered and planted, and not about the decayed and degenerate estate thereof. But of this he saith nothing, only reasoneth much to this purpose: if a man's body may have sores, boils, broken limbs, &c., then is not the body whole and sound in the definition.^d If in a garden, vineyard, or orchard, after the constitution, there grow weeds, thorns, and thistles, then cannot the same in the description be

men, ordinarily joining together in the true worship of God, is a true *visible church* of Christ, and that the same title is improperly attributed to any other convocations, synods, societies, combinations, or assemblies whatsoever."—*English Puritanism by Bradshaw*, chap. ii. sec. 1.

When the phrase, "*the true worship of God*," has been properly explained, this definition of a church of Christ will differ, in nothing material, from that which the Separatists had laid down.—ED.]

^d [This is most remarkably the case

through all the reasoning of Dayrell. His argument is little other than an affirmation that whatever is or may have been in the church, *ought* to be there, and is essential to its constitution. Thus, a Judas was in the church; and, therefore, a church is never rightly constituted unless it have a Judas amongst its officers: and, as if, because a man *may* have an ulcer and a broken leg, therefore no one can really be called a *man* unless his leg be broken and his body be ulcerated.]

said to be planted at first of all good herbs, vines, and trees? But *the first is true; therefore the second. Now * [195] if such philosophy be to be laughed at, then truly much more is Mr. Dayr[ell's] divinity here to be pitied, for he denieth our definition, to wit, that a true visible church in the first collection consisteth of a people called and separated from the world; and why? because forsooth afterwards some of them may fall into unlawful and sinful courses.

If all our writings should be read over, yet will it not be found that ever we have denied but many hypocrites may be in the true church, yea open and vile transgressors; but here lieth the point, if any shall affirm that the same may be first gathered of known lewd and unconverted men, that indeed we deny utterly, and can prove the contrary; or if they shall say, that [known] obstinate and incorrigible sinners may lawfully be suffered therein, this also we affirm to be untrue. But if they say, that in a true visible church there may be great evils committed, yea, and a long time tolerated, we assent unto it. Howbeit it is certain (as Dr. Ames saith) this forbearance is a grievous sin before God. If Mr. Dayr[ell,] therefore, had well understood what our negative and affirmative positions are, he might have spared most of his writing; for throughout his book he hath most falsely reported of us, by insinuating as if we held all of the visible church to be saved, and that no wickedness therein can be committed. Now our words tend only to show what a church is, and how every member ought to walk; but if in some respects they be not so, yet may the congregation notwithstanding be true and good.

* Mr. Dayr[ell] tells us very often of the sins committed * [196] in the Jewish church, so in Corinth, Pergamos, &c. If he were alive, I would ask him whether they did well

herein. If he should say yea, then were he a blasphemer; if nay, then he gave us the whole cause, and so might cast his book into the fire. For the thing which we affirm is, that every member of the church ought to be holy, not that they are always so, but should be so, and it is their great fault they are otherwise. And here the reader may observe how greatly he hath mistaken the matter, for whereas Mr. Barrow, Mr. Ainsw[orth,] and others, do show from the scriptures what a true church is, whereof gathered, how every member should walk, and how abuses are to be reformed, &c.; he (either through ignorance or malice, or both) still inferreth from their writings, that they held perfection of churches, that there can be no hypocrite or reprobate in the church, &c. Things groundlessly collected of him.

Of the same nature are the reports which many of them publish daily in their sermons and books, namely, that the main cause of our separation is, because wicked men are suffered in their church. But this is untrue, for howsoever (as I said before) such a toleration cannot be justified; yet this is not properly the reason, but because their parishes were at first constituted,^e as now they stand, of the members of antichrist, to wit, the idolatrous papists, and of all other kind of most notorious sinners, as where-

^e [This was the vital point defended by the high church party, avoided by the Nonconformists, and even by many Separatists themselves, but pressed home by John Canne and his brethren, and vigorously acted upon when he returned to England in 1640-1. In 1632, while Lathorp was in prison, the baptism of an infant belonging to one of his members, at a parish church, brought the question forward, "Whether the parishes were, or were not, rightly constituted

churches of Christ?" This discussion, which Lathorp laboured by all means to avoid, led to the formation, in 1633, under Spilsbury, in Wapping, of that baptist church which now meets in Little Prescott Street. Whether this movement amongst the brethren in England had any effect in producing the Necessity for Separation, which followed in the next year, 1634, has not yet been fully ascertained.—Ed. See also Appendix F.]

m[ongers,] witches, atheists, swearers, usurers, cursers, scoffers at religion, &c. This profane multitude, *without * [197] any profession of faith and repentance, were forced and compelled by human authority in the beginning of Q[ueen] Elizabeth's reign, to be members of their church, and so have continued, they and their seed ever since, contrary to the express^f word of God;¹ and this is so evident and certain, as the Nonconformists acknowledge it most true; beside, we leave them in respect of their ministry, worship, and church government, which is also proved unlawful and antichristian by their own testimony.

Another exception which he taketh against our description is, because we say, a people called by the word of God. This he denies to be true, and affirms that men may come to be members of the visible church, and not be called by the word, and therefore very unfitly is it placed in the description of a visible church, pag. 62, 63.

Ans[wer.] We need not wonder when a man undertakes to justify a bad cause, that he useth ordinary vile and profane arguments for it.

First. This which he affirmeth is directly against the holy scriptures^g of God.²

[*Secondly.*] Contrary to all example in the Old and New Testament.³

[*Thirdly.*] Wholly against the doctrine of his brethren and fellow priests, and the learned every where.⁴

[*Fourthly.*] The *scriptures which he names are both untruly and unadvisedly applied of him; for, first, touching that in Exod. xii. 38. Howsoever many Egyptians and other nations were moved by God's works showed in

¹ Acts ii. 39
& xix. 9.
Rom. xvi. 7
& 20, 14, 15,
17.
Joh. xvii 14,
10.
Ezek. xxxvi.
38.
Phil. i. 5.
Act. ii. 41,
42, 47,
& xi. 21, 24,
& xvii. 4, 34.
Rom. xii. 5.
II Cor. ix. 13.
Psal. cx. 3.
Isa. xiv. 1,
& xiv. 5, &
lx. 8.
Zach. iv. 6,
& viii. 21,
22, 23.
II Cor. vi.
14, 15, 16.
Josh. xxiii.
7, 8.
Psal. xciv.
20.
Mat. xviii.
15, 17.
I Cor. v.
chap. & vi.
9, 10, 11.
Eph. i. 1,
22, 23, & ii.
11, 12, 19,
20, 21, 22.
² Mat. xxviii.
19, 20.
Psal. xix. 7.
I Cor. i. 21.
Jer. xxiii.
29.
I Pet. [i.] 23,
25.
James i. 18.
Job xxxiii.
23, 24.
Act. xvi. 10.
Rom. x. 17.
³ I Cor. iii.
[1—]7.
* [19.]
Gen. xii. 1.
Acts ii. 40,
and x. 44.
Col. i. 5, 27.
Ephes. i. 13.
I Cor. iv. 15.
I Thes. i. 3,
5, 9.
⁴ Atters. on
Phil. 10. pag.
205.
T. C. l. i. p.
51.
Clev. on
Prov. ix. 3,
pag. 11

^f [This appeal to holy scripture is so essential to a just estimation of the author and his reasoning, that the whole of the passages here quoted

have been arranged and connected in the Appendix G.]

^g [The conclusion from these scriptures is given in the Appendix H.]

Barn. Sep.
Schism. pag.
118.
Byfield on
Col. i. 6, pag.
49.

Egypt, to go out with the Israelites, notwithstanding that they should be all taken into actual communion with the church, it is only his dream, and no such thing can be truly gathered from the place; but the contrary is most probable, as I could (if there were any use) give many reasons for it. See Numb. xi. 4. And the like may be said unto the place in Est. viii. 17; and this also further added, how he knew (if any were received into the fellowship of the saints) that the word of God was not preached unto them by some means, in one measure or other, before their admission. As for the other texts, namely, John ii. 23, and iv. 39, and vi. 26, his alleging of them plainly notes that his knowledge was not much in these scriptures. For,

[*First.*] Christ did not there constitute any visible church.

[*Secondly.*] The persons there spoken of were most of them members by birth of a true church.

^s Willet. on
Rom. x. obs.
7, pag. 485.
Elton on Col.
i. 7, pag. 41.
Scharp. Cur-
sus. Theo. p.
6.
Cent. Mag-
deb. l. i. c.
iv. pag. 171.
Pisc. Aph.
Loc. 18, pag.
101.

[*Thirdly.*] Howsoever the things which he mentioneth, as miracles, reports, &c., were great means to confirm the gospel, and to draw the people unto the hearing of the word, notwithstanding the word alone^s was the instrument (God's blessing going with it) whereby the people were brought unto faith^h and repentance, John iv. 42.

[*Fourthly.*] But wherefore doth he instance these examples, seeing they are extraordinary, and therefore if it

^b [*"Faith cometh by hearing, &c.* Where, then, there is no preaching of the word of God, there can be no hearing; where no hearing, there no faith: this sheweth the miserable state of those people which want the ordinary ministry and preaching of the word of God. How can they but fall into the ditch, that either have no

guides, or those but blind? for the scripture saith, *where there is no vision, there the people decay.* Prov. xxix. 18. Where are no prophets, ordinary or extraordinary, there the people must perish."—*Willet on Romans*, chap. x. observation 7, p. 485, ed. 1611.]

should be granted, as he ignorantly understands the places, yet it will not follow that there is any other outward *ordinary means to call men out of the world, beside the * [199] word: now of this ordinary means speaks the definition only.

[*Fifthly.*] Observe how the exception which he makes here against us, serves nothing to help his case; for if all the persons which he names were received into the visible church, and say it was by some other means beside the word, that moved their hearts to obey the Lord therein, yet how can he prove that these were outwardly wicked and irreligious, known to be idolaters, drunkards, sorcerers, mockers, liars, blphemers, &c.; for unless he can manifest this, if all the rest were granted, yet will it not stead him a whit to justify the state of the English church, which was erected after popery (as he could not deny) of such vile varlets and unclean creatures. It is, therefore, worth the noting, what ill speed Mr. Dayr[ell] hath still in all his testimonies and witnesses; for after he hath pulled them in at the window or backdoor by the hair of the head, yet this is his cross, either they stand up against him, or are quite dumb, and speak not a word touching the point for which he brings them.

We [have] heard what the reasons are why Mr. Dayrell disliked our definition. Now, before we come to the last part of his book, there is something to be said touching the manner which he lays down of making of churches by the sword: about this he begins with a tedious comparison of one that hath children and servants which be papists, and by threats will have them worship God aright, thereupon they frequent the church assemblies, and seem outwardly to be religious, and are to be *accounted of the visible [200] church, and yet these came not to be of the church by the

call of the word, &c. Now may the master and father do this, and may not the magistrate? &c.¹

Ans[wer *first*.] Howsoever parents and master are to use all good means, that those which are under their government may be religious and holy, yet have they not any more power to make them members of God's church (if they be not under the visible covenant) than they have power to give them saving grace and sanctification.

[*Secondly*.] Whereas he saith, these come not to be of the visible church by the call of the word, that is untrue; for howsoever a person may come to the place where a church is, yet his coming simply there doth not immediately make him an actual member of it, as he still ignorantly intimates; for those of his brethren which were far more judicious than himself, do teach otherwise: when men do profit in hearing, then are they to be joined to the church; but it seems if heathen and Turks would have but come to his service and preaching, he would have acknowledged them to be part of his flock, albeit they manifested no repentance at all; if he should say no, then were he contrary to his own saying here.

T. C. 1 1.
pag. 51.

¹ [There is a hardihood in this passage which merits a more full quotation. "Suppose that one of the visible church have children and servants that be papists, and that he, after other persuasions, commands, and threats, shall say unto them, Except ye forsake your idolatry, and worship God according to his word, and not after the traditions and devices of men, ye shall be no children nor servants unto me; and that, thereupon, they frequent the church assemblies, and in process of time do in policy outwardly seem to be religious, re-

nouncing popery, and professing the true religion, when in the mean season they continue popish still: and [are] not those to be accounted of the visible church? Yes, verily; for what, though they have a heart, and a heart that is nothing to man, we must leave that to God."—*Dayrell on the Church*, p. 63, 64. To such passages as this we are indebted for the clearness with which they prove that this great question of the hierarchy and its claims, must decide whether a nation shall inherit an organized hypocrisy or true religion.—Ed.]

[*Thirdly.*] This similitude is against himself;

For, *first*, the magistrate did not command the subjects to go unto the churches, formerly gathered, and there to be prepared by hearing, but forced them to be members, they being altogether and every way most unfit.

[*Secondly.*] The worship which they did was not according to God's word, but after the traditions and devices of men.

[*Thirdly.*] They neither outwardly seemed *religious, nor renounced popery, nor professed true religion, but in all this plainly showed the contrary, as we have before proved by their own writings.

* [201]
See Mr.
Robinson's
Justification
of Separation,
295.
Mr. Ains.
Counterp.
224, &c.

After this he makes a long narration to justify this compulsion, by the practice of the kings of Judah. Now, this point by others has been so fully answered,^J as one would think, that Mr. Dayr[ell] should never have had the forehead once to have named it, except he had been more able to refute their arguments. For answer to it, I deny that there is any true proportion between this example and the thing unto which they do apply it.

[*First.*] The Jewish church was national, but such are none now under the gospel, neither provincial nor diocesan, as the Nonconformists do say and prove.

[*Secondly.*] Howsoever Judah fell fearfully into sin, yet by virtue of the Lord's covenant with her forefathers, faithfully on his part remembered and kept, remained still the true church of God, and was not (as Israel) quite broken off; and therefore the magistrate compelled not the people to be members, but to perform the duties thereof, they being members truly before. Indeed, if either Hezekiah, Josiah, Asa, or Nehemiah had forced the

^J [See Mr. Robinson's Justification of Separation, [p.] 295, [D. W. L. copy.] Mr. Ainsworth's Counterpoison, p.] 224, [D. W. L. copy.]

Edomites, Egyptians, Babylonians, &c., into the holy temple, and there to have sacrificed to the Lord, it had been something like unto their practice. For the English nation, consisting of many shires, cities, towns, and villages, was never within the Lord's covenant, and holy in the root, as Judah was. Howbeit, it may be many hundred years past, there were some true churches planted in the land, by the preaching of the gospel, and obedience * of faith.

Rom. xi. 16,
21.

* [202]

[*Thirdly.*] The ministry, worship, and church government unto which Judah submitted, was the Lord's, and the contrary abolished by her good governors, as the reader may see by these scriptures.¹ But neither in the beginning of King Edward's or Q[ueen] Elizabeth's reign was there such a course taken, but the self-same false ministry, worship, and church government, left to stand, which the Romish beast had before devised, and is at this day used in his cursed kingdom, only some few faults put out: and this themselves, when they write against the hierarchy, do avouch boldly.

¹ II King.
xviii. iii. 3,
4, 5, 6.
II Chro.
xxix. 2, 3, 5,
xix. xxi. &c.
and xxx.
1, 2, &c.
& xxxi. 1,
&c.
II King.
xxii. 12 and
xxiii. 1, 2, 4,
5, 6, 7, 8, 24,
25.
II Chro.
xxxiv. 2, 3,
4, 5, 9, 33.
² Ezra vi.
21, ³ and
viii. [21—
23.]
⁴ Chap. [x.]
1, [9].
⁵ II Chro.
xxix. 5, 12,
31.
II Chro.
xiv. 2, 3, 4.
II Chro.
xxix. 18, 19.
⁶ II Chro.
xv. 8, 9, 12.
⁷ II Chro.
xv. 13.
⁸ II Chro.
xxix. 25, 27.

[*Fourthly.*] If we consider the priests and people of the Jews, it will appear evidently that there is no agreement or likeness in the comparison; for these separated themselves from the filthiness of the heathen of the land,² confessed their sins,³ humbled their souls by fasting and prayer before the Lord;⁴ sanctified themselves,⁵ prepared their whole heart to seek God,⁶ made a covenant with him,⁷ rejoiced at the oath,⁸ [and] kept the passover with joy⁸; but the English at first, in every particular, were much unlike these people, as appears by the great rebellions which they made in many places, because they thought that their idolatrous service should be put down. Yea, so unwilling were they to leave their idolatry, as the magistrate was fain to inform them by a proclamation how they did mistake his reformation.

It seems to you (saith he, speaking of their matins and evening song) that you have a new service; now indeed, it is no other but the old, the self-same words in English which were in Latin,¹ saving a few things taken out, *so fond that it had been a shame to have heard them in English, &c. If, therefore, the service in the church was good in Latin, it remaineth good in English, for nothing is altered, but to speak with knowledge that which was ignorantly before uttered.

¹ This serves to prove what the Nonconformists have before said, touching their worship in chap. ii. sect. 2, and 4.
* [203] Acts and Monum. II volum. pag. 1497, & 1498. edition 5.

To be short, I would have them once to tell us where they have learned to enforce and constrain men to be members of their churches; I think they will not find a precedent for it in the world, unless they take it from Mahomet's doctrine,² who taught that men should be compelled to the faith by war and sword: for all reformed churches practise otherwise. There are no swine and dogs driven in among the godly, but whosoever joins, comes freely and voluntarily to them. Sometimes Mr. Dayr[ell] and his brethren are all for these churches, but when they see that their own standing must needs be naught and foul, if the others be justified, then they will call back their words again, and plead corruptly for themselves.

² Alcoran, cap. 19 and 19.

Mr. Dayr[ell] hath one string yet left to his bow, the which if it should be broken too, then all the shooting would be marred. Be it granted (saith he) that all our parish assemblies were at first no true churches, &c.; yet, notwithstanding now they may be, indeed are true, seeing that ever since above fifty years, we have been partakers of the true word and sacraments, and many of us effectually called thereby; and to drive this nail into the reader's head, he lays down a similitude thus: There are many men in a house, but gotten into it not through the door whereby is the ordinary passage into it, but by some back-door, or through the *window, or haply at some breach • [204]

violently made into the same house, were it not extreme folly, or rather madness, because of this manner of entrance, to deny the in-being of the aforesaid men in the house? ^k

Ans^w[er.] A man fallen into the water will rather catch at a mote than willingly sink. It is just so with this Mr. Dayr[ell]; being loath to fall under the controversy, which inconsiderately he took up, he talks of this thing and that; the which if they should be judiciously weighed, would be all found as light as vanity. To reply briefly, for it is not worth a long answer:

FIRST. If their churches were false in the constitution, then are they so still, because they stand in the very same state, and have not repented of the evil thereof, neither since have entered into any visible covenant with God, by public and voluntary profession of faith. If two persons should make an adulterous covenant, who would deem them to be lawfully man and wife, so long as they stood by virtue of that false agreement which they made at first together?

2 Chro.
xxxvi. 18.

[SECONDLY.] Their having of the word and sacraments proves no more their churches to be true, than doth a true man's purse in the hand of a thief prove him to be an honest man. As the Lord's vessels were of old in temporal Babylon, so are there sundry of his ordinances now in spiritual Babylon, and therefore the papists can say the like, and all other heretics. If any should reply, but these have the word preached in an unlawful ministry, and the sacraments unrightly administered, I answer, ^{*}the same may be said of the English assemblies, as the Non-conform[ists] have soundly proved.

* [205]

^{*} [Dayrell on the Church, p. 81. The word "*in-being*" here, is designed to beguile the reader, by suggesting what Dayrell assumes, the idea of *constitutional* "*in-being*;"

as if the man who had climbed up some other way was, by divine law, recognized and protected as a rightful inmate of the house he had broken through, John x. 1.—ED.]

[THIRDLY.] What their obedience is, the reader may partly guess, by comparing their profession and practice together. The former is showed in this treatise; and what the latter is, all may see it at home, by their doings in England. As the prophet said of Israel, let them lift up their eyes to the high places, and behold where they have not played the harlot. I could give many instances to show what small cause they have to boast of their order and manner of walking. For,

[First.] They are not a people separated and called from the world; a duty much urged in the scriptures,¹ and practised always by the saints.²

[Secondly.] They are not free, but stand most slavishly under strange lords, expressly against God's commandment.³

[Thirdly.] They worship the Lord, not in the sincere order of the gospel, but after an idolatrous and popish manner, which is a fearful and crying iniquity.⁴

[Fourthly.] Add hereunto the knowledge which many of them have that these things are evil. It is the saying of king James, that the Puritans are the founders and fathers of the Brownists, the latter (saith he) only boldly putting in practice what the former do teach, but dare not perform. For what end he wrote this I let it pass, but the words in part are true. Our separation from the Church of England is by their grounds certainly good and lawful, and therefore they say and do not.⁵ Now, what the reason of it is, I know not; unless to enjoy liberty, pleasure, profit, friends, credit, and such worldly respects.

*I do omit the fearful apostacies which sundry of them have made from that obedience unto which they were come; some for wives, others for riches, and many to avoid persecution for the cross of Christ. Besides, whom do they take for greater enemies than the Separatists? And

Jer. lii. 2.

¹ Isa. lii. 11.

Rev. xviii.

4. Psa. xlv.

10, 11.

² 1 King.

xviii. 3, 4.

Act. ii. 40, 41.

Ezr. vi. 21.

Lev. xxvi.

[14—39.]

³ Levit.

xxv. 42.

¹ Cor. vii. 23.

Gal. v. 1.

⁴ Joh. iv. 23.

Rev. xiv. 9,

[10.]

² Chro. xi. 15.

Lev. x. 1, 2.

Meditation

upon the

Lord's

Prayer, p. 15.

⁵ See Mat.

xxiii. 3.

* [206]

why? Because (as the king said) these boldly put in practice what they do teach, but dare not perform. And for this very thing, many of us have received most grievous injuries both from their tongues and hands, but the Lord forgive them for it.

[FOURTHLY.] Be it granted that some of them are effectually called, what then? Do these make all the rest holy? Not in the least; for as a handful or bundle of corn, shuffled into a field of weeds, though in itself it may retain the same nature, yet cannot make the field a corn-field; so, neither can a few good Christians sanctify the whole lump of the idolatrous and vile multitude in the land, and make them to be the true churches and people of God.

[FIFTHLY.] Touching his comparison, it is a begging foolishly of the question; for first, let them prove themselves to be in the house, and then they shall hear what we will say of the window and back-door.¹

From page 212 to 237 he attempteth to prove that men may lawfully join in divine worship with the wicked. Touching this thing, although it concerns not much our matter in hand, yet I will write a few words, in answer to his long talk in this chapter.

* [207]

* First. He saith that the apostles had religious communion with infidels. But this is a false doctrine; for a man may preach the word, and yet not have spiritual communion with all which are present, and hear the same; and this must necessarily be so, because otherwise it would follow that every one when he teacheth communicates with the devil, for in likelihood he is constantly there with the rest; indeed, Mr. Dayrell's words import

¹ ["He that entereth not by the door into the sheep-fold, but climbeth up some other way, the same is a thief and a robber."—John x. 1.]

no less, but I hope he hath not left any behind him of so corrupt and vile a judgment.

[Secondly.] He sets down a manifest untruth: for we do not affirm that there can be no religious communion but with members of a visible church. Our profession and practice daily is otherwise; yet so, that they be such persons, howbeit not in a church state, yet to be judged to be in the faith by their gracious and holy walking.

[Thirdly.] Whereas he affirms that we separate from them, because wicked and profane people are suffered to come unto their worship; this also is untrue; for, we leave them rather because the worship itself is wicked and profane, as we have, from their own writings, already showed.

[Fourthly.] In page 220 he speaks enough to justify our practice, for thus he writes: We may not have religious communion or partake in divine worship with idolaters in their false and idolatrous worship, heathen or antichristian; but must separate and come out from among them. And a little after he gives a reason. Idolaters and false worshippers, in their worship, do not worship God but indeed the *devil, not Christ but Belial, &c. If this be true, in what a fearful case then are the people of the land, who serve Christ by that idol book, considering the same is affirmed by the precisest of them to be an idolatrous and false worship? yea, and I am persuaded that this Mr. Dayr[ell] would have said as much too, if he had written of it, against the prelates.

[208]

[Fifthly.] By his own confession they are all leavened, through the iniquity one of another. For thus he saith, "The open sin of a man and impunity thereof, defile them that have authority and power to punish the delinquent, and do it not; that is, make them also guilty of sin, or to partake in that sin." Now, compare with this

their positions in page 134,^m &c. where it is acknowledged, that the authority and power to punish the delinquent belongs wholly to the whole church, and not to the b[ishops,] chancellors, officials. Seeing therefore most horrible sins are openly committed among them, and no means of reformation is used by those which are thereto only called, it must needs follow, if Mr. Dayr[ell] and his brethren speak the truth, that all their parishes are defiled, and they are guilty of each other's sins, and do constantly partake in the known transgressions one of another.

[Sixthly.] Whereas he would have us to prove that the place in Hag. ii. 13, 14, doth signify spiritual pollution, and that the apostle, in 1 Cor. v. 6, by a little leaven, &c., meaneth that the whole assembly may become guilty and defiled by open sin:—

I answer: These scriptures are not only by us thus *interpreted, but also by D[octo]r Amesⁿ and other learned men; and therefore herein he hath them as much as us against him. The like might be said of other scriptures which he accuses us of perverting. If it were needful I could show how expositors do apply them as we do, and so do the Nonconformists in all their writings against the Church of England, notwithstanding this man casteth out of his mouth floods of reproaches after us. But this will appear to be no new thing, if we take a view of their writings, which have stood for error and falsehood; for when the truth hath brought for her defence the evident scriptures, papists ¹have been wont to carp at the allegations and interpretations of them, and challenge their adversaries for corrupting them. The formal Protestants²

* [209]
De Consci.
lib. iv. pag.
212, 213.
Pare. in
1 Cor. v.
Hemin. in
Eph. v. 16,
17.
Eras. Pa-
raph. in
1 Cor. v. 6.
Beza Ann. in
1 Cor. v. 6.

¹ Greg.
Martin.
Campian.
Kellison,
&c.
² Whitg.
Defence of
Answer to
Admonit.
in the Gen.
Tab. s.

^m [Page 134 of this work, using the original pagination given between brackets in the margin.]

ⁿ [De Consci[entia, &c.,] lib. iv. p. 212, 213, [or chap. xxiv. p. 225 to 228, ed. 1654, B. M.]

in England have done the like against the Reformists, and they now use the like colour against us; but how truly let him judge whose heart desires to know the truth in sincerity. Only I would have it observed how prettily he proves the Separatists to pervert the scriptures, to wit, because he understandeth them otherwise than they do.

Concerning other passages in his book, I judge them not worth an answer. If there be any, I am willing that he should take them for his advantage, which undertakes to make a reply unto the things which I have here written.

* CHAP[TER] V.

* [210]

[THE ARGUMENTS OF MR. BRADSHAW IN HIS WORK, ENTITLED
THE UNREASONABLENESS OF SEPARATION, CONSIDERED AND
REFUTED.]

WE heard in the first chapt[er] of the reference which Pag. 54.
Dr. Ames had unto Mr. Bradshaw's book, entitled, the
Unreasonableness of Separation; ° now as my promise
there was, so I will (according to the measure of know-
ledge and grace given me) in this chapter make answer
unto it, that so the godly minded may judge whether the
Separatists or he, are most unreasonable.

That the reader might not expect to see any thing in
the book, proved by the word of God, the publisher there-
fore of it (after some scoffing at Mr. Johnson^p and others,)

° [Described page 54, using the
original pagination of this work.]

^p [Mr. Johnson was pastor of the
Ancient English church sojourning in

Amsterdam, and his book appears to
have been written to justify his sepa-
rating from the hierarchy.]

tells us that "it was not the author's meaning to gather proofs, &c., and much quotation may prove something, but answereth not directly to any thing."

[*Bradshaw's Address.*]

[Address to the reader in Bradshaw's Unreasonableness of the Separation, &c., D. W. L. copy. This address is short but excessively vindictive and contemptuous. The passage quoted reads :—"It may be that they, having less acquaintance with logical forms of dispute, will look for large discourse, or heaped quotations out of scripture. But reason will tell them," [Johnson, &c.] "that many words do rather hide *them*" [than] "untie the knot of a syllogism : and much quoting may prove something, but answereth not directly to any thing. Now the writer's" [Mr. Bradshaw] "meaning was, not to gather proofs, but to point out the weakness of such as these men have gathered. Read therefore with understanding, and learn a mean betwixt *all* and *nothing*."]]

[*Canne's Answer.*]

Answ[er First.] Whosoever means to settle well the conscience, especially in a main point of faith and religion, ought necessarily to bring good proofs from the scriptures for the things whereof he speaketh ; for otherwise, either men will give no trust unto his words, or if they do, it must be unadvisedly. And howsoever he puts God's word here slightly by, notwithstanding others have otherwise esteemed of it. Augustine was of mind, that councils, bishops, &c., ought not to be objected for trial of controversies, but the holy scriptures only.

Another saith, I yield the scripture a witness of my *sense, and my exposition without the scripture, let it be of no credit : yea, hereto accord the very Papists, we are rather to believe one private faithful man, than a whole council and the pope himself, if he have the word and

August.
Contro.
Maxim.
l. iii. c. 14.

* [211]

Orig. Ho-
mil. 9, in
Jer.

reason on his side, as D[octo]r Ames therefore said, so do we say, "we esteem not anything like of a thousand objections, fetched from testimonies, subject to error, as we would have done of one plain testimony divine, if it could have been produced."^q

Panormit.
de Elect. &
Ele. Potest.
c. Signif.
Fresh Suit.
1. ii. p. 351.

[*Secondly.*] That quotation of scriptures should not answer directly to any thing, it sounds in my apprehension very harsh, to say no worse; for I have hitherto always thought that there could be no better answering than by scripture, I mean rightly alleged and applied.

[*Thirdly.*] As many words simply will not serve to untie the knot of a syllogism, so neither will a few firmly knit it, except they be spoken to good purpose.

[*Fourthly.*] For his upbraiding of us with ignorance about logical forms, I let it pass, we are that we are, and do bless God for that small knowledge of human learning which we have received, and do think it a practice most unbecoming any of the saints, to boast of their own ability, much more to deride others for their lacks. But this is to be observed generally, that those which stand for bad causes, do after this sort still reproach their adversaries, thus do the Papists¹ the Protestants, so the Protestants² the Puritans, and so they us, as here and in their other writings³ usually. Now to the book.

¹ Defence of the Apolog. of the Chu. of Eng. p. 619.
² Mr. Hut-ton against the Minist. of Devon. and Cornwall, p. 9, & p. 151. the 7. consideration.
* [212]
Stone's Sermon on Psa. cxx.
³ Sprint.

* I thought once to have set down this answer before my Reply, as he hath done Mr. Johnson's Reasons before his Answer: but I perceived then that this treatise would be very large: besides, both these books are already in many men's hands, and therefore I changed my mind: only I do desire the reader to peruse both their writings, for so shall he profit the more by that which I have here penned.

^q [Fresh Suit, part ii. p. 351.]

[*Bradshaw's Affirmations.*]*

["The main conclusion of Mr. Johnson's reasons, as it is propounded by himself is this :—

'That it is not lawful to hear or have any spiritual communion with the present ministry of the church assemblies of England.'

Which he laboureth to prove, 1. by reasons (as he fancieth) drawn from scripture, and other testimonies.

2. By arguments collected from the writings of them whom he styleth (in disdain) forward preachers : and this he performeth, as far as the remainders of his logic skill will give him leave, in mode and figure. But the figure, for the most part, is of their own shaping, such as never came forth of any logic schools : yet, seeing the truth he opposeth receiveth no disadvantage thereby, I can (for my own part) be content that his syllogisms still retain those forms and figures, that he hath put upon them : and spare the labour of translating them into new." *Unreasonableness of Separation*, D. W. L. copy, p. 1.]

[*John Canne's Answer to p. 1.*]

Ans. to
pag. 1.

I find nothing here, but some insinuating flourishes of his own skill in logic, and great contempt put upon Mr. Johnson, for his unableness therein. Now my purpose is, both here and in other places, in a manner altogether to pass by his intemperate speeches, knowing that before this time he hath made his reckoning for them with God.

1 Pet. iii. 9.
Rom. [xii.]
21.

Besides, it is a Christian part not to render rebuke for rebuke, and a thousand times better were it to sustain even a legion of reproaches, than for a man by turning (though but one) to give cause of suspicion, that evil hath got some part of conquest over him. But I marvel why he saith, that Mr. Johnson in disdain styleth them forward preachers ; for,

* [As the work here answered is *not* now "in many men's hands,"—the principal passages have been supplied from a copy in D. W. L.]

[First.] He knew not the other's heart.

[Secondly.] To my knowledge, this is a term commonly given, and taken of them acceptably and in good part.

[Thirdly.] The apostle saith, "Love hopeth all things;" ^{I Cor [xiii.]} but it is evident Mr. Bradsh[aw] followed not his rule, which is, when things are doubtful in themselves, to embrace the best.

[*Bradshaw's Affirmation.*]

"I deny the assumption [‘that the present ministry of the church assemblies of England, is not that which Christ hath given, and set in his church for the work of the ministry,’] and affirm, that the present ministry of our church assemblies, (howsoever it may in some particular parts of the execution, happily be defective in some places,) is, (for the substance thereof) that very same ministry which Christ hath set in his church for the work of his ministry, whether it be the ministry of those which he calleth the forward preachers, or of those which being qualified according to the true intent of the law, do subscribe, and conform according to the laws of the state."

—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 2.

"The present ministry of the church of England, is the ministry of pastors and teachers."—*Ibid*, p. 3.

"Though our prelates do sometimes voluntarily and occasionally perform the same work and service in some of our church assemblies which our ordinary ministers do, yet their prelatical or episcopal office or ministry, is not the proper ministry of any of our church assemblies. But (in the intent of our laws) their proper ministry consists in overseeing the ministers and ministry of our church assemblies."—*Ibid*, p. 3.]

[*John Canne's Answer to pp. 2 and 3.*]

[In the *First* place] he speaks often of their law, but what law he means I know not, whether the common, provincial, civil, or statute; *neither what by the true intent * ^{Answ. to pag. 2, 3.} [213] of it, and therefore until some friend of his do set forth an

exposition of it, we cannot give to it any direct answer.]

[*Secondly.*] Seeing he grants, to be a true minist[er,] there must be a qualification according to the intent of the law, we desire them in their next writing, to tell us plainly, whether all their b[ishops,] priests, and deacons, are so qualified: if not, then certainly Mr. Dayr[ell,] Mr. Bradsh[aw,] &c., have much deceived the people; for under the colour of some few among them, qualified (as they say) they have cunningly sought, to justify all the rest, and yet knew, (as it is clear by this man's writing,) that their ministry is false and unlawful.

[*Thirdly.*] Let the vanity of his speech be here observed; their ministers are true if they be, &c., which is, as if a known harlot should say, I am honest, if I am qualified, according to the word of God.

[*Fourthly.*] He mistakes Mr. Johnson's words, for he doth not say, that the prelates are ministers of the church assemblies, but of the Church of England; notwithstanding, if there were need, we could prove both by their profession and practice, that the b[ishops] are the proper pastors of all the parishes in their dioceses, and the rest are curates only to them.

Reply to
D. Morton,
pa. 85.

[*Fifthly.*] If the ministry of the prelates belong not to any ordinary assemblies, then is the same antichristian, and so consequently is that which is derived from it; and so much from their own principles we have formerly proved.

p. 9, 11, 39.

[*Sixthly.*] He should have proved, that that authority and power, which the law gives to the prelates is lawful and good; for if the same be otherwise, (as he knew in his own conscience it is,) I do not see for what *reason he mentioneth it, it having no weight of matter against us, nor for themselves.

* [214]

[*Bradshaw's Affirmation.*]

["Though sometimes our ministers be called PRIESTS and DEACONS, yet the MINISTRY, under those names assigned unto them, and which they exercise, is not the proper and essential ministry of either priests or deacons; but of pastors and teachers, so that they are only in equivocation and name, or metaphorically priests and deacons, but really pastors and teachers; and therefore such priests and deacons may be, and in deed and truth are such pastors and teachers as are spoken of Eph. iv. 11, 12."—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 4.

[*Canne's Answer to p. 4.*]

Answ[er First.] To let pass the name priest, and that likeness which is between their ministry and the popish priesthood, because others already have sufficiently handled the thing: I do deny that they are such pastors and teachers as are spoken of in Ephes. iv. 11, 12, and have showed the contrary from their own principles.

Unto p 4.
See Treat.
of the Mi-
nist. of the
Church of
Eng. page
98, 99, &c.

[*Secondly.*] Note this man's lightness and inconstancy. Sometimes he stands for the justification of all their ministers, as here and in pag. 10, &c., but other while he will only defend those which are qualified according to the law, and execute their office, as page 2, 5, 94, &c. Thus a man knows not how to follow, nor where to find him: as the way of an eagle in the air, such is the way of an adulterous woman: it is hid and cannot be known.

Prov. xxx.
18, 19.

[*Thirdly.*] It is untruly affirmed, that their priests and deacons do exercise the proper and essential ministry of pastors and teachers. For first, most of them, by their confession, are idle-bellied epicures, senseless asses, and not one of twenty that can preach.^a [*Secondly.*] By their law, their deacons are not to administer the sacraments, neither any of those which are full priests, but according

Pag. 15,
16, 43.

^a [Page 15, 16, 43 of this work, original pagination.]

to a popish liturgy. [Thirdly.] None of them, neither may nor do exercise church government, though they acknowledge it an essential and proper part of their ministry.

[*Bradshaw's Affirmation.*]

["It is not necessary that the ministry of a country or nation should be always such as the law establisheth or admitteth. The ministry (at least in some places) may be good, though the law in general should admit and establish such a one as is bad." p. 4.

"He [Mr. Johnson] cannot be ignorant but that some, by connivance, are yet suffered in some points of their ministry to swerve from some observances which the laws require.

"Our own governors in fact have permitted the ministry of some, who never received ordination, either from Papists or themselves.

"The law doth not intend any true and proper priesthood, but only borroweth the name to express an office of another kind.

"To be parsons, vicars, stipendiaries, chaplains, &c., is not to have a diverse kind of priesthood or deaconry, or ministry, (as he foolishly conceiteth,) only variety of titles is given to the same kind of ministry, in diverse persons, in respect only of a diverse kind of maintenance."—*Ibid*, p. 5.

"The ministry of all which (if they duly execute the same) is one and the same, even that (and no other for substance) which is proper to pastors and teachers."—*Ibid*, pp. 5, 6.

[*Canne's Answer to pp. 4, 5, 6.*]

To the 5, 6,
7, pages.

Answ[er First.] Our question is not of what should, or may be in a land, but of that which we know is by law established and practised accordingly.[†]

[†] ["The laws of the church admitteth not any other ministry, but that of their prelacy, priesthood, and

deaconry, received amongst themselves, or from the papists."—*Francis Johnson in Bradshaw*, p. 4.]

[*Secondly.*] I cannot think that the prelates have permitted the ministry *of some, which never received ordi- * [215] nation from the papists or themselves; for though it may be possible that one or two may secretly pass without being made priests by them, yet that they should permit this thing, I am persuaded he could never prove it.

[*Thirdly.*] He often taxeth Mr. Johns[on] with absurdness, but no man I think could pass him here. For if it should be granted, that there was a prelate which for love or money permitted the ministry, &c., doth it therefore follow, that the ministry of that church is any other, but of their prelacy, priesthood, and deaconry? as Mr. Johnson saith. For what if some have as much permission under the papacy, is not their ministry then of prelacy, priesthood, and deaconry? Indeed, so Mr. Bradsh[aw] doth infer, but with what wit or truth, let the reader judge.

[*Fourthly.*] A man may be an unlawful minister, though he never received the b[ishop's] ordination, viz. when he runs of his own head, and is not elected, called and ordained by the free and common consent of a true church, and such were those of whom Mr. Bradsh[aw] speaketh, if there be any truth in his relation.

[*Fifthly.*] If some do swerve from some observances which the law requires, yet is not their calling hereby the more true and lawful: for if monks and friars do not keep sometimes all their rules and orders, yet are they notwithstanding the devil's and pope's officers; even so, &c.

[*Sixthly.*] Though their law intend not, such a proper priesthood as was in the Jewish church, nor (as in all * respects) is now under the Romish beast, yet this helps * [216] nothing their cause, seeing it both tendeth and establisheth such a ministry, as by their own confession is directly against the word of God.

[*Seventhly.*] Touching their parsons, vicars, stipendiaries,

Pag. 44, 45,
46.

chaplains, &c., we have proved from their writings,^u that these names and offices come wholly from the devil and antichrist: and therefore his pleading for Baal is altogether here unuseful as to say, All is one kind of ministry, and in this respect they are parsons, and in that respect vicars, &c., for, as much may a papist say of their parsons, vicars, &c., and as true too. If therefore he would have justified these men, he should first have manifested that his brethren have notoriously slandered their ministry, and so have taken quite away their reasons, by showing better, and not needlessly to bring in a tale which neither helps him nor hurts us.

[*Eighthly.*] His conclusion is pitiful: for instead of satisfaction, he leaves his reader more doubtful than before: in regard of an exception which he makes thus:—If they duly execute the same, meaning the office of true pastors, now what if they do not this, as indeed they do not, what be they then? To this he saith nothing: neither will I infer any thing, but leave it as a query, to be answered by him, which shall next write in the behalf of Mr. Bradsh[aw.]

[*Bradshaw's Affirmation.*]

[“The proposition,” [*that the pastors and teachers spoken of Eph. iv. 11, have their offices, callings, administration, and maintenance ordained by Christ in his Testament*’]—is not true, except he [Mr. Johnson] understand by officers, callings, and administration, the substantial or essential parts thereof. Otherwise those very pastors and teachers there spoken of may have divers accessory parts of their offices, callings, and administration, not ordained by Christ in the New Testament.” —*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 7.

“Whether prelates have their office, calling, &c., ordained by

^u [See pp. 44, 45, 46, of this work, being the original pagination.]

Christ is beside the present question, except Mr. Johnson can prove that they are ordinary ministers of our church assemblies ; which I am sure he cannot."—*Ibid.*

"He can never prove, that either the practice of all our ministers is in all things according to that ['their'] constitution, or their constitution according to their practice, or either of them answerable to the strict terms of the law in all points."—*Ibid.*

"He can never prove, that either in their constitution, or practice, or by the law they are in proper speech, either priests or deacons ; only he presumes them to be such, because through some liberty of speech used in the laws, they are termed such."—*Ibid.*, p. 8.

"Though (for avoiding further controversy) that should be granted him, that some parts of our ministrations *by the canons*, &c., was never ordained by Christ : yet, at the least, the main principle, and essential parts thereof performed according to the canons and book aforesaid, are ordained by Christ ; yea, by Mr. Johnson himself." [*sic.*]—*Ibid.*]

[*Canne's Answer to pp. 7, 8, 9.*]

Before I make answer unto the particular things in these pages, I will lay down some general observations, touching the manner of this man's writing, both here and in the rest of his book.

[*First.*] Having *nothing with any show to object, like * [217] a bold sophister, he makes flat denials of expressed truths, as thus:—I say it is false, I deny it, &c., as if the weight of an argument were sufficiently removed by empty denials.

[*Secondly.*] His proofs are always beggarly, I says, or ifs, and may be sos ;^v and doth not in all his writing,

^v [Johnson having pleaded that the ministry which our Lord established, Bradshaw, after relieving himself by preliminary abuse, replies, p. 14:—

either directly or by sound consequence from the scripture, confirm any one thing whereof he speaketh.

[*Thirdly.*] Although in the course of his life he made show to be a great enemy of the b[ishops] and their traditions, yet now against us he standeth to maintain the vilest abominations in their churches.

[*Fourthly.*] Such corruptions as the Nonconformists generally have condemned, he basely here justifieth; and by the same carnal and corrupt reasons which the prelates used to do, so that his writing is not more against us than against themselves, and therefore it concerneth them as much as us, to set forth an answer unto it.

[*Fifthly.*] As Mr. Dayr[ell] in his book hath showed much ignorance and contradiction; no less hath he, great hypocrisy, in pleading for such evils, as some which knew him do well know that his judgment of them (at least of many of them) was wholly otherwise.

It is true the report goes that he was not the proper author of it, but another did it, and got him to father it. This may be so, and it is probable enough; notwithstanding Mr. Bradsh[aw's] evil is not the less if he should suffer any one, as the ass did Balaam, to ride upon him for to

“True pastors and teachers may not be drunkards, Anabaptists, or Familists.

The ministers of the Separation at Amsterdam may be drunkards, Anabaptists, Familists.

Therefore, they are not true pastors and teachers.” “This assumption is as true as the former; for the same kind of authority that permits our ministers to be civil magistrates, doth permit them to be drunkards, &c. The government under which they live permitteth the one to more, than

our state to the other.” This example will explain much of that contempt which these Nonconformists received from Burgess and the Church party. Their appeals to conscience could go for little while they perpetrated such injustice on others, who only sinned in conducting their own arguments and statements to their legitimate results. The dexterity displayed by Bradshaw in this one work destroyed the moral power of every sentence he has ever written.]

curse the Israel of God. Now to answer the things particularly.

*[Answer, *First.*] When we know what those accessory * [218] parts be which true pastors and teachers may have of their offices, callings, and administrations not ordained by Christ, we will speak more of that point; in the meantime they may do well to consider that they want not the accessory only, but indeed the substantial and essential parts of true offices, &c., and this they themselves [the Nonconformists] do, not barely say, but soundly prove; and to confute this Mr. Bradsh[aw] hath nothing in all his writing, and therefore their own arguments must needs stand in force, until they do revoke them, and bring better to the contrary.

[*Secondly.*] Whether the prelates be ordinary or extraordinary ministers it is not material, and therefore the distinction is idle and impertinent; for if their office and calling be false, devilish, antichristian, &c.,^w as the Non-See p. 34, 35. conformists say, we will give Mr. Bradsh[aw] leave to place them in what order or degree he will, and yet his cause shall be never the better by it; but observe howsoever some time he undertakes to justify their standing, yet here, by a wile which he useth, they are left to shift for themselves.

[*Thirdly.*] He could not prove when he was alive that either the practice of all the priests in the church of Rome in all things was according to that constitution, or their constitution according to their practice, or either of them answerable to the strict terms of the law. What then, might not he therefore conclude anything generally against the unlawfulness of their ministry? his words import positively no, but we are sure yes, and so * will every wise * [219]

[^w See p. 34, 35, of this work, using the original pagination.]

man I think (beside himself) affirm too; notwithstanding his tenets usually do lead unto such absurdities.

[*Fourthly.*] He, either through ignorance or deceit, speaks beside the present question. For Mr. Johns[on] to prove them false ministers, mentioneth their calling and entrance according to their pontifical; now to this he saith nothing, but talks of their practice, the which, if it should be granted to be otherwise than the law requires, yet it is nothing to the purpose for which he bringeth it.

Would it not make some men laugh if they should hear one that is accused to be a bastard to maintain the contrary by this reason, viz., because he doth such duties as those children do which are born under wedlock. The thing which Mr. Johnson affirmeth from their own writing is, that their ministry, begotten by the prelates, is illegitimate and false; I say those which take their offices and callings from them are bastardly ministers. Now mark, (good reader,) how handsomely Mr. Bradsh[aw] makes an answer to it; he cannot prove (saith he) that the practice of all our ministers is in all things according to the constitution, &c. What then, yet seeing he proves your ministry, by your own confession, to be a child of the whore,¹ it must needs be still a bastard, whether the practice of it be good or evil.

¹ So is the Pope called by the Holy Ghost in Rev. xvii. 5.

[*Fifthly.*] I do deny that those administrations which are performed by their popish canons and book of Common Prayer, are the main, principal, and essential * administrations which Christ hath ordained. For first, these allow of no true pastors and teachers. [Secondly,] require the sacraments to be unlawfully administered. Lastly, command an idolatrous worship and devilish discipline to be performed and executed in all their congregations.

In page 46 he saith, that the prelates may well laugh at Mr. Johnson's simplicity and silliness of wit, that thinks

* [220]

to fright them with such a bugbear as this, &c.; but may they not much more laugh at the writings which his brethren have published against their canons and service-book, calling the former slavish ordinances, lawless, perilous, P. 139, 140. popish, wicked, and damnable canons, shameful idols, &c.; P. 8. the latter a devised service, the mass in English, &c.?^x But what of all this, if they will believe Mr. Bradsh[aw], they need not be frightened with such bugbears as these; for if it should be granted (as it is only for reasoning's sake that he will do this) that some things are in the canons and book aforesaid which were never ordained by Christ, yet the main, principal, and essential administrations which he commandeth, are contained in them.

Now, how much better had it been if this misshapen thing had had its mother's womb for the grave, or, being brought out, had been ever kept in some hole or dark place where it should never have seen any light, nor any man's eyes should ever have looked upon it, than to serve in this sort which it doth, namely, to strengthen the hands of the wicked, grieve the hearts of the righteous, and to discover their own vile halting and double dealing.

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

["The ordinary ministry of our church assemblies, against which he [Mr. Johnson] propounds to himself to dispute . . . is the ordinary and perpetual ministry given by Christ to his church, and such as the princes of the earth are bound by God's laws to maintain and protect by their authority."—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 10.

"The places of Scripture annexed to the assumption [of Mr. Johnson] for the proof thereof are all abused and profaned; for . . . they only prove in general that the idolatry and idolatrous ministry of antichrist is to be abolished; so that, the man in

^x [Pp. 139, 140, and 78 of this work, using the original pagination.]

his simplicity takes it as granted, that our 'ministry is such an idolatrous ministry, which is the main matter in controversy.'—*Ibid.*

"For the proof of this consequent he bringeth nothing out of our own writings, but only to give his readers thereby a vomit ; some of his own cole-worts, not twice, but twice twenty times sodden, to which we give him leave to look an answer from some as idle-headed as himself."—*Ibid.* p. 88.]

[*Canne's reply to p. 10.*]

* [221]
To pa. 10.
[Of the Un-
reasonable-
ness, &c.
see p. 54.]

I. Adm.

*Ans[wer *First.*] Are the "princes of the earth bound by God's laws to maintain the ordinary ministry of your assemblies?" then have you from time to time shamefully mocked and abused them, in craving so earnestly for their aid to have this same quite rooted out and abolished, and a right established in the room and place thereof.^y

[*Secondly.*] The dumb dogs, caterpillars, and idle bellies, never had a better proctor than this man to plead for their unlawful standing; for he saith the magistrate is bound to protect their ministry; but how can we believe him, seeing the Nonconformists teach otherwise, and lay down unanswerable arguments for the same, but as for him he gives none at all. If he should say he means not the bare readers, I answer, he makes no distinction nor exception, but speaks generally and indefinitely of the ordinary ministry of their church assemblies. Beside, the office and calling of these is, for nature and kind, the very same which the rest of them have received.

[*Thirdly.*] I do not so much admire that he makes here some question whether there be any "corruption in and about their ministry;" and that, pag. 13, he thinks "need-

^y [Adm[onition, &c., D. W. L. copy,] p. 3, 7.]

^z [If this assumption pleaded against the Separatists be sound, how shall we describe the following prayer of-

fered by the Puritans in behalf of Elizabeth their queen :

"O Lord God, grant for thy mercy's sake, that as Jehoshaphat, in the third year of his reign, destroyed the high

less to spend any time in justifying their canons;" as I wonder he had not downright affirmed that there are no faults at all in either of them.

For any one may see by his work that he meant not now to tie his conscience short, but would make a little bold with it for the present; and so he might fetch over a sure blow upon us, he cared not though with every stroke he made wounds through the sides of his brethren.^a

[*Fourthly.*] Seeing he confesseth the idolatrous* ministry * [222] of antichrist is to be abolished, it must needs follow then that these scriptures,¹ alleged by Mr. Johns[on] are neither abused nor profaned; for such is theirs.

¹ Rev. xvii. 16.
1 Tim. ii. 2.
Rom. xiii. 4.
Deut. xii. 2.
Psa. lxxii. 1.

places and groves out of Judah, and sent his priests and princes, and gave them the book of the Lord with them for to reform religion by, and so fear came upon every city, that they made not war against Jehoshaphat; so, Lord, we humbly beseech thee to strengthen the queen's highness with thy Holy Spirit, that in the twenty-third year of her reign she may cast down all the high places of idolatry within her land, with the popish canon law, and all superstition and commandments of men, and to pluck up all filthy ceremonies pertaining to the same; and that her highness may send forth her princes and ministers, and give them the book of the Lord, that thereby they may bring home the people of God to the purity and truth of the apostolic church. And then shall the fear of the Lord come upon every city or country, that they shall not make war against our Jehoshaphat, the very enemies that be without shall be compelled to bring presents to her grace. Thou, O Lord, grant that her highness may not only have a happy, long, and prosperous reign, with peace of con-

science in this life, but also in the life to come her highness may enjoy, by the mercies and death of Christ our Saviour, life everlasting; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, for ever and ever, AMEN. *And let all her majesty's true subjects say, AMEN.*—Prayer of Gilby and others, in '*View of Antichrist,*' &c."—*Part of a Register*. D. W. L. copy, p. 72.]

^a [In a humble petition of the Commonality, part of a Register, p. 315, D.W.L., their judgments are thus expressed:—

"But we pray your highness most humbly upon our knees, that for the redress of this our woeful case, you would not send us to the bishops of this land, or commit this charge of establishing a holy ministry unto their fidelity; for if they should solemnly promise your majesty, and that with an oath, that they would have special care of this matter, yet we could not be induced to believe that they would perform it, either could we conceive any comfort from such words."]

[*First.*] Because their entrance into the ministry is by a popish and unlawful vocation.

[*Secondly.*] The service, which they are enjoined to do, is idolatrous and antichristian.

[*Thirdly.*] The manner of performing it is also unlawful; for they are to wear surplices, sign children in baptism with the sign of the cross, kneel in the act of receiving the bread and wine in the Lord's supper, &c., the which things are very idols.

[*Fourthly.*] Touching preaching, it is no essential part of their ministry; for those which neither do it, nor can, are yet by their law, as true and lawful ministers, as any other among them.

And all this, many Nonconformists of greater note and zeal than ever Mr. Bradsh[aw] was, have by reason soundly manifested; and therefore he hath here showed the more pride and ignorance thus still to oppose them, having nothing wherewith to refute their effectual arguments, but, to use his own phrase, "a vomit of his colic-worts, not twice, but twice twenty times sodden," that is, bold "I says."

Pag. 87

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

["The prelacy, in and of itself, might stand well enough with the offices of the apostles, &c.; for these offices may of themselves (if there be no other impediment) stand well one with another, which in the actions thereof do not (but by accident only) one overthrow and oppugn the other."—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 13.]

[*John Canne's answer to p. 13.*]

To pa. 13.

Doth he speak in earnest, that the "prelacy, in and of itself, may stand well enough with the offices of the apostles, evangelists, pastors?" &c. Truly, I cannot think so, and therefore if I should have seen such a passage in

their writings against the b[ishops,] I would, have admired at it; but seeing it is put forth only against the Separatists' tush! why may it not pass, though it be as contrary to their saying otherwise as light to darkness?

* The author of the Preface before the Fresh Suit against * [223] Human Ceremonies, saith, he cannot abide daubing. Now I profess, in all good conscience, I never saw to my remembrance such daubing in any Conformist; and to say truth, it is a great deal worse; and for proof hereof observe what they write in their writings against the prelacy.

“The hierarchical government cannot consist in a nation with soundness of doctrine, sincerity of God's worship, holiness of life, the glorious power of Christ's government, nor with the prosperity and safety of the commonwealth.”

Another saith: “Not Paul himself, if he were living, should be permitted to continue his function if he would not conform, as we are verily persuaded he would not.”

Mr. Udall, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Baynes, Mr. Bates, and many others of them, have spoken to the same effect, and suffered for this banishment, spoiling of their goods, yea, some of them loss of life. See also before in pag. 34, 35, 138.^b

It is reported of a certain Thracian, by name Lyncurgus, how, imagining that he was hewing down a vine with his hatchet, slew his own son and maimed himself. Much to this purpose is Mr. Bradsh[aw's] work; for, thinking to refute us, he quite overthrows his brethren's cause, and his own too. And whether this be not unreasonable, let the judicious judge.

If Dr. Ames had not boasted of this man's book, I would not have touched it, because I knew the bowels of it could possibly not [*could not by any possibility*] be opened, but it would cause an ill savour to some, in regard it containeth

Sion's Plea,
p. 4.

Remove.
Imputations
from the
Minist. of D.
and Cor. p.
36.

Apoll. de
Orig. Deo-
rum. l. iii.

^b [These numbers refer to the original pagination of this work.—ED.]

* [224]

most *vile and unclean matter, but seeing they are neither afraid to publish such stuff to the world, nor ashamed afterward to glory of it, they must give us leave to return it home to them again, howbeit to their loss and discredit too.¹

¹ This is the book which Mr. Pag. upbraids us with, Ar. ag. Separ. p. 61.

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

[“All our ministers may not . . . take upon them civil authority, but such only as are called especially thereto by the favours and grace of the civil magistrate, not as they are prelates, priests, or deacons, or by virtue of these functions, but in respect of other qualifications.”—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 15.

“The same kind of authority that permits our ministers to be civil magistrates, doth permit them to be drunkards, &c. The government under which they live permitteth the one to more than our state doth the other.”—*Ibid*, p. 14.

“But what if by the laws of men, ministers might be murderers, adulterers, thieves, &c., should these laws change the nature of their ministry? What! of their ministry that” [who] “deny unto themselves that license? Would it not rather the more justify their ministry, when in conscience of God’s law, they shall forbear that which flesh, and blood, and human laws, would permit unto them.”—*Ibid*, p. 15.

“By the same law that our ministers may take upon them civil magistracy, any true pastors and teachers may take upon them the same authority.”—*Ibid*, p. 14.]

[*John Canne's answer to pp. 14, 15.*]

To 14, 15
pag.

Answ[er first.] Touching the corrupt shifts which he useth to justify civil offices in ecclesiastical persons, I will not speak much of it, but do desire the reader to take knowledge that the Nonconform[ists]² affirm the thing to be utterly unlawful, and give sundry good reasons for it.

[*Secondly.*] Whereas he saith, “the same authority that permits their ministers to be civil magistrates, doth permit

² T. C. the rest of the Second Reply, p. 1 to 31.
Mr. Bates, 73, 74, &c.
Course of Conformity, p. 20.

them to be drunkards, &c.; and by the same law that their ministers may take upon them civil magistracy, any true pastors may take upon them the same authority." To this I say, in his own words, "what a shameless man is this to ^{P. 11.} affirm such untruths;" for, concerning the first, he slandereth the state, and in the other he puts the lie on the writings of his brethren, which testify otherwise.

[*Thirdly.*] Whether they be made "civil magistrates by the favour or grace of princes," as he speaks, or any other way, it is nothing to the purpose, seeing the thing in itself is every way and altogether unlawful.

[*Fourthly.*] When they have proved themselves to be true pastors and teachers, then there will be a fit place to show whether the admitting of a civil office do change the nature of a church ministry or no.

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

["If any particular persons among us" [the Puritans] "have been so unadvised to grant the assumption" [that 'the prelacy, priesthood, and deaconry of the Church of England standeth only by the authority and law of man, so as other churches elsewhere neither are, nor need to be subject thereunto'], "let them answer for themselves. He hath no more reason to bind us to their opinions, than we to bind him unto whatsoever his predecessors, Brown, Barrowe, and Greenwood, have held before him."—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 16.]

[*John Canne's answer to pp. 16. 17.*]

Here Mr. Bradsh[aw,] in plain terms, casteth his brethren off, and good reason too, for he sees that either he ^{To 16, 17} must wholly renounce their principles, or conclude * with * ^{pag.} [225] them, that their ministry is unlawful. But he tells us that he is not bound to their opinions. Well, neither I think are they to his. And now, seeing he and they are

thus parted, let us a little consider whose of their opinions, in likelihood, are the truest and best to be embraced. Touching the former, I mean the Nonconformists (to say nothing of their number, zeal, learning, knowledge, sufferings for the truth, &c., in all which they far exceeded him) not only do they affirm their ministry to be false; but, as I have often said, and also showed out of their books, they prove by good arguments the thing to be so. But as for Mr. Bradsh[aw,] he delivers his opinion upon his own word, and if we will not take that, we must have nothing; nay, truly, many times we cannot have his word, for he turns his tale so often forward and backward, as no man can tell where, when, or how to believe him. For instance, some time all their ministers are true with him, otherwhile they which be qualified only, and such as duly execute their office. Thus he is like to one that hath a mad dog by the ear, and knows not whether it be best to hold him or let him go.

For Mr. Barrowe and Mr. Greenwood,^c as we will not bind our consciences to their opinions, so neither will we rashly reject the grounds which they have taught and given reasons of, unless we be able to show better, although Mr. Bradsh[aw] hath dealt thus ill favouredly with his brethren.

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

[“Most of those which have such offices [as the prelates, &c.] are, and are bound to be, members of true visible churches; and cannot in their estate (they being in all points answerable to the laws) be members of a false church.”—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 18.

“They are all (such excepted as have special dispensations)

^c [Mr. Barrowe's [Henry], Reply to Gifford, S. C. L. 1591. Mr. Greenwood's [John] Reply to Gifford, S. C. L. 1591.]

bound to one particular congregation, and may not, by law, have more cures than one."—*Ibid*, p. 18.

"Their authority, in causes ecclesiastical, over provinces, &c., is either such as the civil magistrate himself may execute," &c., "if he please, or such as is not for them, as they are magistrates, to execute. The first sort they administer only by virtue of the magistrate's own commissions, and therein they cannot impair either his dignity or supremacy."—*Ibid*, p. 20.

"The simplicity of the man [Mr. Johnson] is here to be laughed at. For, 1. though some should say, that either our archbishops or bishops have the pastor's office, yet therein they do not exclude the other ministers from that which is the substance. . . . If any hold that the ministers of particular congregations only are pastors, then they may, without any absurdity, hold that the archbishops and bishops are general commissioners under the king to see that the pastors do their duties, and, in that regard, may also metaphorically and in another sense be called pastors."—*Ibid*, p. 22.]

[*John Canne's answer to pp. 18, 19, 20, 21.*]

* There are fishes named *sepia* (as writers report) who, lest they should be taken of their pursuers, do cast behind them abundance of black matter, and so escape out of sight. By such a wile Mr. Bradsh[aw] thinks here to get away from us; for with his shifts and tricks he puts quite by the matter in hand. But to answer briefly,

[*First.*] There are many hundred priests in the land which have no particular places to serve in: is their ministry therefore unlawful? Indeed, he seems here to grant it, as the rest of his brethren do.

[*Secondly.*] Seeing not all (as he confesseth), but some of those that have offices, are bound to be members of true visible churches, I will leave it in this place as a query, whether such as neither are, nor by law are bound to be such, are true pastors or no? for Mr. Bradsh[aw] had so

* [226]
To page 18,
19, 20, 21.

much forecast as to say nothing about this thing, howbeit it was the main point in question.

[*Thirdly.*] He takes it for granted that their churches are true, but brings no proof for it, and except we will give him all this at once, there is nothing which he speaks to any purpose in the world. But this we cannot give him, though he beg it shamefully, because the thing is otherwise, as their own writings manifest.

[*Fourthly.*] What if their priests be not in all points answerable to their laws, are they then members of a false church? Indeed either his words carry such a meaning, or to me they seem nonsense.

[*Fifthly.*] Have not some in the church of Rome dispensations to have more cures than one? Yes, surely. Now do these special dispensations make the action lawful? Such an inference Mr. Bradsh[aw's] words have, or else the man talks he knows not * what.

[*Sixthly.*] Howsoever the matter be not much, whether the government which the b[ishops] exercise in civil and ecclesiastical cases, do impair the dignity, authority, or supremacy of the civil magistrate, seeing the same is unlawful and antichristian as we have before proved. Notwithstanding this thing is confidently affirmed of the Nonconformists, and they give sundry instances thereof; and therefore the boldness of this man is notorious, that he should dare in this manner still to daub up the vile things which his brethren pull down with both hands.

Some men in matters of controversy, care not (as one saith)¹ though they lose the peace of conscience, so they may gain their supposed victory. If Mr. Bradsh[aw] in judgment came the nearest (as it is reported) of all the Nonconformists, to the separation; surely his soul could have small comfort in this writing, it containing nothing for the most part, but what is quite contrary to all their sayings other where.

See before
page 169,
&c.

Remove
Imputat.
from Mi-
nist of C.
D. pag. 46.
Sion's Plea,
pag. 4.
Page 34, 35.
147.
Protestat.
from Scot.
pag. 88, 89,
&c.
Altare
Damasc.
57, 58, &c.

¹ Intus in
animo
perdant,
modo vic-
tores ab-
scedant.
Ambros.

* [227]

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

["Though some should say that our archbishops or bishops have the pastor's office, yet therein they do not exclude the other ministers," &c.—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 22.

"If any hold that the ministers of particular congregations only are pastors, then they may without any absurdity hold that the archbishops and bishops are general commissioners under the king, to see that the pastors do their duties."—*Ibid*, p. 23.

"Or what, if they which hold the ministers of particular congregations to be pastors could not tell what to make of the office of archbishops and bishops, what is that to the purpose?" &c. *Ibid*, p. 23.

"This doth not exclude them," [the archbishops and bishops,] "from being commissioners, and visitors in causes ecclesiastical under the king over the pastors."—*Ibid*, p. 24.

"What obedience do they," [deacons, priests, &c.] "promise to prelates in the intent of the law, but only in things that they shall judge honest and lawful, and not repugnant to the word of God."—*Ibid*, p. 26.]

[*John Canne's answer to pp. 22—26.*]

To let pass his idle scoffing, as imputing it to a ^{To page 22, 23, 24, 25, 26.} *κακοζήλια*,^d necessarily attending that pen which undertakes the defence of such a cause; in these pages he sheweth himself a miserable informer and settler of the conscience: for his counsel is much to this effect; so a man hold some thing, it is no matter what it be, nor how ungroundedly taken up, to answer his ifs and thoughts, and whats particularly.

First. "What if some (saith he) shall say that our archb[ishops] and b[ishops] have the pastor's office?"

Answer. *Then they shall speak untruly, or else you • [228] yourselves do bear false witness against them; in affirming

^d [*Κακοζήλια*. An awkward attempt to imitate what ought to be avoided.]

1 Defen.
Eccle. Dis.
ag. Bridg.
pag. 88, 89.
Pref. Dio.
Strif. of
the Ch.
Repr.
Mart. Jun.
pag. 12.
Mr. Bates,
pag. 55.

that they are not ¹pastors and teachers, neither any true ministers at all in the church of God.

[Secondly.] “What if one hold they are not pastors, but named only so metaphorically, as princes are so called?” &c.

Answer. This were to hold a thing, which is contrary to their law, and directly against their profession and practice.

[Thirdly.] “What if one hold that the ministers of our particular congregations are pastors?”

Answer. He hath no reason for it, because they have no true calling unto that office, neither do perform the substantial duties thereof. When Dr. Burgess styled himself pastor of Sutton Coldfield, mark what Dr. Ames writes, in answer to it: “It is (saith he) such a name or title as by [our] prelates’ rules, is not admitted, and our book of ordination acknowledgeth no such pastors, from whence also it is, that in our convocation church language, we never hear of a pastor of one parish alone. None of our divines in the synod of Dort would take to themselves that title, though most others did in their subscription; D. Andrewes, an archbishop in esteem, censureth this title for a novelty.”^e

[Fourthly.] “What though one hold that our archb[ishops] and b[ishops] are commissioners and visitors, in causes ecclesiastical, under the king.”

Ans[er.] The magistrate hath no authority from God, to set up such officers, which shall take into their hands the rights and privileges belonging to the whole church; and, therefore, whereas he attempteth both here, and in pag. 35, 36, to justify the *hierarchical government, and by this reason, viz. because they take it from the king. I

In title-
page of
his Ref.

Fresh Suit,
l. i. p. 5.

Resp. ad.
Epist.
i. Ma.

* [229]

^e [Fresh Suit [against Ceremonies,] l. i. p. 5.]

desire the reader to compare with this base stuff their former principles,^f and consider whether there be not probable reasons to think, that he sinned herein fearfully against his knowledge and conscience. See before
p. 34, 35,
147.

But to the point in hand, is not here wit to dispute by ifs and thoughts? Now, I am not of Mr. Bradsh[aw's] merry disposition, to laugh at another's fault: but truly, if a man were so disposed, his silly and childish words would give him often occasion enough: for suppose a Papist should argue as he doth, "What if one should hold, that our archb[ishops] and b[ishops] be pastors, or what," &c., would not every one that seeth it, say there is in it neither rhyme nor good reason. If therefore he had not meant a mere gulling and mocking of the world, he would not have taught men to hold this thing; and that, or what they would, without any reason and ground, but have showed first by the word of God, that the opinions were lawful and good, which he counselled them to embrace.

After this he tells us, that some of their priests and deacons are pastors, and some teachers; but I have proved the contrary, and therefore both now and hereafter do purpose, to let his idle repetitions pass; only if I may without offence ask a question of them, seeing Mr. Bradsh[aw] makes here this distinction, and doth oftentimes justify the whole clergy, by what names or titles soever they be called, I would willingly therefore *know of what * [230] kind their dumb ministry is, whether these Sir Johns be pastors or teachers; for if they be true ministers, one of these, they must be necessarily.

Mr. Bradsh[aw] having a great desire to justify their deaconry^a (howbeit, he knew that his brethren had con- See before,
p. 48.

^f [The original pagination of this work will guide the reader to the Nonconformists' principles here pleaded; pp. 34, 35, 147.]

^a [P. 48, the original pagination of this work.]

demned it for a false office, as they have it in their assemblies) demandeth of us, whether magistrates may not require some things of teachers, not required by the apostles?

Answ[er.] Yes, forsooth; but if they require before a man shall be a teacher, that he enter into the ministry by an unlawful and popish vocation, and shall execute afterwards the same in an idolatrous manner, if he in all this do obey them, he must needs thereupon become no true minister; and such is their cause, by their own confession; and therefore the question, as he propoundeth it, is deceitful and impertinent.

Lastly. He excuseth their priests, which obey the b[ishops,] "what obedience (saith he) do they promise to prelates, but only in things that they shall judge honest and lawful, and not repugnant to the word of God." If this manner of arguing be good, what corruptions so abominable but may get countenance? Under such pretences, any heretic may maintain the grossest errors, which he holds and practiseth.

But to let pass any further answer, I desire the reader to take knowledge that none of the Nonconformists have more effectually condemned their popish ceremonies than this man,^h for he hath by many arguments proved, that the use of them is very sinful: *notwithstanding behold his forehead, how in his writing here against us, he seeks by flattering speeches, to justify the very practice which he profeseth in his writing against the hierarchy, to be unlawful, idolatrous, antichristian. I may well use the words which they speak against the Conformists: "We abhor this hypocrisy, and leave such temporizing unto

See Mr.
Bradsh.
12 General
Arguments
against Ce-
remonies.

* [231]

^h [Mr. Bradshaw's Twelve Arguments against Popish Ceremonies, and his English Puritanism, contain a per-

fect refutation of all that he has written in his answer to Francis Johnson.]

those which are content to make themselves the servants of men."ⁱ But it is true, as one saith, "Extremity drives men unto hard shifts."

Remove.
Imput. from
the Minist.
of D. and
C. p. 22.
Fresh Suit,
l. ii. p. 184.

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

["If the Scribes and Pharisees were true ministers, notwithstanding their names and other corruptions, our ministers cannot be false, in regard of the like names and corruptions," &c.—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 27.

"To be a priest and deacon, in the intent of our law, is to be such a kind of pastor and teacher, as is content, over and besides those duties of the ministry which Christ requires of them, to yield uniformly also to human traditions, of no worse nature and quality in themselves, than those which the Pharisees used in or about God's service," &c.—*Ibid*, p. 28.

"Why may not the preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments be sufficient to argue our ministers to

ⁱ ["Let us assure ourselves, [that] we shall ever be unruly and wild headed, until the Lord hath tamed us, by long handling, and made us stick to this ground, that it is no more lawful for us, in any wise to add anything to his law, than it is lawful for us to take any thing from it."—*Dr. Ames's Fresh Suit*, &c. part ii. p. 120.]

"God would have his people to know, that they could not have his favour, except they would, in all points be unlike to such, and go as far as they could from their fashions and examples; especially in those rites wherein there was any show of religion."—*Dr. Ames, as given in Burgess's Defence of Dr. Morton*, p. 420, part i.]

This decision of character is more forcibly urged, "*First*." Because of "the detestation which the Lord our

God, being a jealous God, beareth to idolatry, and all the instruments and tokens thereof, as unto spiritual whoredom. *Secondly*. That we cannot be said sincerely to have repented of the idolatry or superstition, whereby we or our fathers have provoked the Lord, unless we be ashamed of and cast away with detestation all the instruments and monuments of it. *Thirdly*. "That" [if not so decided] "we shall be in danger to be corrupted. *Fourthly*. We shall harden idolaters. *Fifthly*. There is more danger in popish ceremonies, because the pope is antichrist, and we converse more with Papists than with other idolaters."—*Ibid*, pp. 434, 435.]

"Nothing upon pretence must be tolerated in the church, which come either from Satan or from antichrist." —*Ibid*, p. 439.]

be true pastors and teachers, notwithstanding that in the mouth of the law they are sometimes called priests and deacons.”—*Ibid*, p. 27, 28.

“Lastly. Whereas he” [Mr. Johnson] “argues them” [the Pharisees] “true ministers by this, *that though they were very corrupt, yet they did still hold that every ministry must be from heaven, and not of men.* It deserves rather to be laughed at than answered: for, may not, yea do [not ?] the falsest ministry that are, or ever have been, hold so much, at least in such a sense and meaning as the Pharisees might hold it. And can he name any amongst us, that holds not as much.”—*Ibid*, p. 29.]

[*John Canne's answer to pp. 27, 28, 29.*]

To p. 27,
28, 29.

Here Mr. Bradsh[aw] bestirreth himself, to prove their ministry good, by the Scribes and Pharisees; but this example will not help him in the least.

¹ See Pa-
reus in
Mat. xxiii.
v. 2. p. 578.

For *First*. Howsoever they had new names, and in many things were very corrupt, yet they sat in Moses' chair,¹ that is, came rightly and lawfully to the Levitical and priestly offices, which they executed in the church of God. But their ministers (as we have showed it under their own hands) do want this true calling, and therefore the comparison holds not. It is possible, that two persons living in adultery, may in sundry respects be no worse than some which are truly married: is their state therefore one? not so; and why? because the former wanted a right coming together: so in this cause, in some things I am persuaded their ministers are not worse than the Pharisees,² as in pride, covetousness, hypocrisy, persecution of the saints, &c., yet nevertheless, their standing (in respect of the ministry) is not as good as the Pharisees'; because (as I said before) they have not a true calling thereto, which the others had.

² Yet the
Nonconf
say, they
are worse,
see page
15, 16.

* [232]

*[*Secondly.*] I cannot think that Mr. Bradsh[aw] should

be so ignorant, as in this place he makes show of: for his words import, that the ability which the Pharisees had, to expound the law, argued them true ministers: but this is false; for that, and indeed that only, which argued their office to be true, was the Lord's institution in setting the tribe of Levi apart for the holy administrations; ¹ of which family were these, ² so many as were employed in and about the service of the sanctuary.

[*Thirdly.*] If the preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments be sufficient to argue a true ministry, then are not only many Papists priests, but other vile heretics and excommunicates lawful pastors and teachers, for so much they can do. The truth is, his arguing is no better than if Jeroboam's priests should thus have pleaded: those priests that teach Jacob God's judgments, and Israel his law, that put incense before the face of God, and burn incense upon his altar, are true priests; but these things do we, therefore we are true priests. If they shall say the assumption is untrue, the like say we of their cause.

[*Fourthly.*] Howsoever, he often undertakes the defence of all their ministers, yet here he leaves the blind priests in the ditch: and indeed this is the manner usually of them, they are so shifting up and down, as a man knows not where their home is, nor when to find them there, for some time the whole clergy is pleaded for: when they are beaten thence, then they fly to their best ministers; when they cannot defend them any longer, then we have an hour's talk of their gifts and services. *Thus* [233] as a man that sitteth uneasy, is ever stirring to and fro till he be out of his place, so do they shift and shift, till they be clean out of their arguments and matter: if they think I speak beyond my compass, let them once pitch and insist upon any one of these grounds, without

¹ Exo. xxviii. 1.
Mal. ii. 4, 5.
Heb. v. 4.
² Joh. i. 19, with 24.

Deu. xxxiii. 10.

starting, join issue with us, and come to the particular, that so a directly named position may receive a direct and special reply.

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

["To communicate spiritually with any ministers whatsoever only in the holy things of Christ, is not to communicate with the ministry of antichrist's apostacy ; no, though the ministers be ministers thereof."—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 30.

"It is not necessary that the ministry of priest and deacons, though ordained by antichrist himself, should be the ministry of his apostacy ; but, notwithstanding his ordination, their ministry may be the ministry of Jesus Christ ; as was the ministry of Luther, Huss, Wickliffe, and others."—*Ibid*, p. 31.

"The ministry of such manner of priests and deacons as the prelates ordain, (or by the laws ought to ordain) is the true ministry of Jesus Christ, and for the substance thereof, directly contrary to the ministry of antichrist's apostacy."—*Ibid*.

"How absurdly and childishly he goeth about to answer," &c.—*Ibid*, p. 27.

"In the proof of the assumption he daubs six pages, bringing therein nothing but his *old brokery*, the substance whereof," &c.—*Ibid*, p. 50.

"The devil himself would have been ashamed in this open manner to have told such a lie, and therefore he" [Mr. Johnson] "is to be trusted no further than he is seen."—*Ibid*, p. 81.]

[*John Canne's reply to p. 30, 31, &c.*]

To p. 30, 31,
32, 33, 34, 35,
36, 37.

Answ[er First.] There is little hope to find any good here, seeing so manifest an untruth is uttered in the beginning. He tells us (if we will believe him) that to communicate spiritually with the ministers of antichrist in holy things, is not to communicate in his apostacy. If this be true, then unlawful ministers may be lawfully communicated with. But this cannot be, for as it was un-

lawful to communicate with Corah or with Uzziah, though they burned true incense, or with Jeroboam's priests, though they offered true sacrifices, so it is unlawful to communicate with a devised or usurped ministry, what things soever (though good in themselves) are administered in and by it. And this we formerly have proved fully.^j Pag. 27, 28.

[*Secondly.*] It is certain that the ministry of priests and deacons ordained by antichrist is the ministry of his apostacy and not Christ's, as he profanely affirmeth; for he makes them not according to the institution, prescribed of God, but wholly after a wicked and devilish device of his own brain; so that the same is a mere fruit of the beast and false prophet, and no accidental effect, but a most cursed thing which doth as *properly flow from his de- * [234] fection as figs from the fig-tree, or a child from the seed of the parents. As for Luther, Huss, Wickliffe, and others, whereof he speaketh, it is but an absurd and childish begging of the question, seeing it cannot be proved that they received a lawful ordinary ministry from the church of Rome.

[*Thirdly.*] He saith, that the ministry of such priests and deacons which the prelates ordain, are the true ministers of Jesus Christ. What every dumb dog, and all those [sixty, eighty,] and a [hundred] which are made at a clap, and sent forth as rogues and masterless servants to get benefices where they can, having no particular congregation? &c.^k Yea, now all again are justified; for he speaks without exception or limitation. If I were not unwilling to give occasion unto the b[ishops] to insult over these men, I could hence manifest much bad dealing in them; but I will forbear for the present, and do refer

^j [Pp. 27 and 28 of this work, using the original pagination.]

^k [1 Admo[nition, &c. D. W. L. copy,] p. 3, [2].

¹ I Admo.
p. 3.
Offer for
Confer. p. 2.
Neces. Dis.
p. 28.
T. C. l. i.
p. 193.
Eccle. Dis.
p. 40.
Mr. Bates,
p. 66.
Demon.
Dis. p. 24,
25.
Def. Adm.
p. 2.

the reader to their own principles,¹ which is, that all ecclesiastical officers ought necessarily to be made by the free choice of the congregation wherein they are to administer. This manner of ordination they profess is only lawful, and none else. To this assenteth Dr. Ames, and denies utterly that the calling of their ministers doth essentially depend upon the b[ishop's] calling. Now, what the reason is that they are thus mutable, it may easily be conceived, namely, the different condition of the persons against whom they write; for if a man should read over their books published to the world against the hierarchy, he should not (I warrant you) hear them once there to say (as here *they do) that it is lawful for their prelates to ordain ministers; but then they will speak out boldly that this practice is wicked and unwarrantable; yea, and they can upon such occasions give good reasons for it also.

* [235]

Mr. Bradshaw, in page 5, justifieth the ministry of such among them as are not ordained by the b[ishops].¹ Here he saith that these are the ministers of Jesus Christ which receive their ministry from the b[ishops]; yea, and from antichrist too; so that it seems, if men will be priests of their churches they may come in any way, and it is no matter how they be ordained, nor who ordains them, nor whether they be ordained or no: indeed, his words imply no less, and therefore he must needs be reasonable. But if the Nonconformists should have seen but half such rotten stuff in any Conformist's writings, they would have cried out, and that justly, "Daubing, daubing."

[*Fourthly.*] He hath little cause to scoff so idly as he

¹ ["The governors of churches and commonwealths who have the dispensation of laws, may in their Christian wisdom and moderation permit a ministry in sundry respects different from that which the laws require;

yea, and our own governors in fact have permitted the ministry of some who never received ordination either from Papists or themselves."—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 5.]

doth at Mr. Johns[on], for the manner whereby he proves his propositions, considering how he himself never brings either scriptures, examples, reasons, or human testimonies to confirm any one thing whereof he writeth. Hierom speaketh of some who have their syllogisms and argumentations not¹ in mood and figure, but in their heels. Mr. Bradsh[aw] is not much unlike these; for wanting all proof to make good the points which he boldly affirmeth, he layeth about him with his heels, by kicking the person whom he opposeth; with bitter and unchristian floutings. Notwithstanding the *wisdom of God is mar- * [236] vellously here to be seen, which suffered not this man to countenance his corrupt speeches with any weight or show of argument, that so it might appear to be penned by him rather for disgrace of others than defence of themselves; and also that none by it might be deceived, but such as are willing to pluck out their eyes, and to take one that is blind for their guide and leader.

[*Fifthly.*] To let pass the unlawful speech which they use in ordaining ministers (i. e.) Receive the Holy Ghost,² and certain frothy demands which he moveth to uphold (if he could) the b[ishop's] kingdom, the things not being worthy of answer. In pag. 38 he bewrayeth great ignorance in not putting a difference between a ministry and the execution of it; for these are two distinct things, and therefore it is possible that one may be a true ecclesiastical officer, and yet never do the services thereof; as for example, a woman is really a wife, immediately upon her marriage; I say, before she performs any duty, yea, though it should come to pass that she never performeth any. And therefore Mr. Bradsh[aw] was deceived to think, if one be a false minister by ordination, that the administration of lawful things makes him true; for it is not so. If the church of Israel should have chosen some,

¹ Non in modo & figura, sed in calcibus.

² T. C. I. I. pag. 62, &c. Altar. Da. pa. 165.

not of Aaron's house but of other tribes, to be priests, and they had administered without exception, had these therefore been lawful officers? In truth, according to his understanding they had: but herein he grossly erred. Mr. Perkins¹ lays it down as one infallible note of a *false prophet, to come without a calling from God and from the church. I pray observe, although a man should execute the ministry of a pastor, notwithstanding if he want a lawful calling, he is still a false minister in the judgment of this author, and I think of all wise men, beside Mr. Bradsh[aw].

Again, if one be ordained a pastor, according to Christ's institution, he hath certainly a lawful ministry. Howsoever things afterwards shall fall out, yea, though he should sing mass and matins, as he speaketh; but he asketh, if any that is in his wits will say so? yes, and prove it also; and if he himself had not wanted some wit in this point, he would not thus have confounded one thing so absurdly with another; for, as a person may be a servant or subject truly and fully, and yet do afterwards the actions of thieves, rebels, traitors, so a man may take a true ministry by ordination, and yet both in life and doctrine do wickedly, and deserve justly to be deposed.

But I guess wherefore he hailes in these foolish positions. It is probable, he knew well enough (what glosses soever he made sometime to the contrary) that their ordination of priests and deacons by the prelates, is (as his brethren say) unlawful and antichristian; and therefore he hoped now to justify themselves in regard of their good services. But this will not help him neither; for if their administrations were right (which are not) yet would their ministry be still false, so long as they do retain their false calling, which they took first of the b[ishops,] they of the pope, and he from the devil.²

* [237]

¹ Exposition upon Mat. vii. ver. 16, pag. 239. Last volu.

² This is no otherwise than according to their own tenets, for they say, Whatsoever cometh from the pope, which is antichrist, cometh first from the devil.

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

["Not only the ministry of the prelates, but any other ministry else upon earth . . . may in divers and sundry particulars (of ignorance or infirmity) disobey Christ in his own ordinances of ministry, worship, and government of the church, and so far forth be the ministry of antichrist's apostacy, and yet be also the ministry of Jesus Christ."—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 39.

"The ministry of our church assemblies, though it be ordained by the prelates, and be subject unto them, yet is not their ministry, but the ministry of Jesus Christ; they [preaching his word] and ministering his sacraments. And it doth, (if it be answerable to the law) obey Christ in all the main essential parts of his own ordinance of ministry," &c.—*Ibid*, p. 40.

"Yea, though it should be granted that they execute the ministry and government of other archbishops, and lord bishops besides Christ; and though they should be archdeacons, parsons, vicars, reading stunted prayers," &c.—*Ibid*, p. 41.

"If any amongst us have put up any such suit to the parliament for the abolition of our ministry in general, let them answer for themselves; but the prelates may well laugh at his simplicity and seeliness of wit," &c.—*Ibid*, p. 46.]

[*John Canne's answer to pp. 40—47.*]

**Answ[er first.]* As a man, when in his answers, he pur-
poseth to deceive others, his manner is to conceal that
which should give special light unto the matter, it is
even so with Mr. Bradsh[aw]; that he might merely gull
the reader, he hides from him whatsoever should most
serve for his true information about the point in dispute.
In pag. 7 he told us that pastors and teachers may have
divers accessory parts of their offices, &c., not ordained by
Christ. Here he saith that they may in divers and sundry
particulars disobey Christ in his ordinances of worship

* [238]

To pag. 39,
40, 41, 42, 43,
44, 45, 46, 47.

and government. Now, he doth not express in either place what these divers and particulars are, neither durst he, I am persuaded; for had he, we should soon have joined issue with him. But to leave him in the midst of his idle words; this I say, when we understand once their meaning, they shall have our direct answer unto it. In the meanwhile, I do entreat them to consider advisedly of their own principles about their worship and government. Touching the first, it is (as they say) contained in the Book of Common Prayer, the which was taken out of the vile mass-book, full of all blasphemies, lies, and abominations; and the other is taken wholly and every part from the pope.^m

See before
pag. 72, 78.

P. 138, 147.

[*Secondly.*] To let pass many things which he often affirmeth, without any proof, I do desire that they will show us in their next reply some good reason for that which he writeth in pag. 40, 41, viz., “That ministers may execute the ministry and government of other archb[ishops] and lord bishops besides Christ, be archdeacons, parsons, vicars, read stinted prayers out of a book, and observe other human *inventions, and have their church government according to canons, courts, &c., which were never appointed by Christ; and yet obey Christ in all the main, essential, and substantial points of his ministry, worship, and government. If they can prove all this, I do not see but the controversy may be easily taken up between them and the b[ishops;] only then, they have just cause to beg pardon of them for their pleas against the prelacy, and the many heavy accusations which they have put up both to princes and parliaments against them. But if they cannot (as I know they cannot) make good the thing here avouched, then let it lie as a blot

* [239]

^m [These numbers in the margin refer to the original pagination of this work.]

for ever upon their cause, for thrusting abroad such de-
ceivable trash, especially upon those which either were
authors of it, or have since justified so hypocritical and
shameless a writing.

[*Thirdly.*] He once more here rejecteth the principles
of the Nonconform[ists,] and bids them answer for them-
selves, touching the suits which they have put up to the
parliaments for the abolishing of their ministry. Now,
the reason why I do again note it is, because the reader
may see how impossible it is for any of them to justify
their standing and writings too, the same being as unlike
each to other as good is to evil. For the prelates laughing,
whereof he speaks in this place, I have mentioned it
before; this only I add, that never did Mr. Johns[on,] by
his "simplicity and silliness of wit, give that occasion
unto the b[ishops] of mirth, as he hath justly of sorrow to
all his brethren, by his daubing and rotten speeches; for
truly, in the words of Jacob, they may *say he hath * [240]
troubled us, to make us to stink among the inhabitants of Gen. xxxiv.
the land; yea, to increase their grief, as David said to 30.
Ahitophel, and Christ of Judas, so may they speak of
him, "Our familiar friend, in whom we trusted, which did Psa. xli. 9.
eat of our bread, hath lift up his heel against us."

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

[“There is no ordinary ministerial office that Christ hath
given unto his church, for the work of his ministry, but our
ministers either have, or by our laws ought to have, the same.”
—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 51.

“The pope kept not such priests and deacons as ours are, nor
hath any such in his kingdom.”—*Ibid.*

“The proposition, that ‘none may have any spiritual com-
munion with those ministers who minister the holy things of
God, and work upon the consciences of men by virtue of a false

spiritual calling,' for brevity's sake, he" [Mr. Johnson,] "proves by five and thirty places of scripture; and yet whosoever shall please to take the pains to examine them, shall find that neither severally nor jointly they prove the same."—*Ibid*, p. 53.

"The prelates having approved of their gifts, and by words and letters testimonial given liberty to execute the ministry of the gospel, . . . do not thereby thrust them into a ministry, but . . . leave them to be further called or chosen, either by the people, or those patrons unto whose fidelity the people have committed this charge."—*Ibid*, p. 54.]

[*John Canne's answer to pp. 48—67.*]

From pag.
48 to 67.

Answ[er first.] Mr. Bradsh[aw] saith, that there is "no ordinary ministerial office, which Christ hath given to his church, but their ministers either have, or by their laws ought to have, the same." I have proved before, that this is untrue, and therefore it is not needful that I should make answer any more to his bold threadbare, I says. But observe here (to use his own words) what a "juggling method of reasoning he hath gotten." Their ministers have such "ordinary ministerial offices," &c. Why? Because by their laws they ought to have them. Now, may not a man, by the same manner of arguing, prove that there are no thieves, traitors, whoremongers, &c., within the king's dominion, in regard by the laws every one should be true, loyal, chaste, &c.? But this latter, I think, would be laughed at of all, notwithstanding to the very same effect is only the other; or else it serves for no use at all but to show that the man had more will to do mischief than he had either wit or skill to accomplish the same.

Pag. 52.

[*Secondly.*] I pass over again his idle scoffing at Mr. Johnson, for quotation of many scriptures. Indeed, Mr. Bradsh[aw] was careful to shun this fault, for he hath not from the beginning to the end of his book, brought one

proof from the word of God to make good any one thing *whereof he speaketh; but, as if he were one of the illu- * [241] minated fathers of the Familists, delivereth his yea and no always upon his own bare word.

[*Thirdly.*] Many grievous errors are bound up in this invective of Mr. Bradsh[aw's,] but, for lying, here is one that surmounts them all; namely, that "the prelates do not thrust them into a ministry, but leave them to be called and chosen by the people, or those patrons unto whose fidelity the people have committed this charge. This (as P. 56, 57, 58. I have showed) is very false. And truly it is strange to me, that they should dare affirm so known and apparent an untruth: for, according to their law, profession, and practice, whosoever is ordained by the b[ishops,] hath immediately upon his ordination all the essential and substantial parts of a minister, is (I say) as true in their understanding as these, which have a people, or have bought benefices of their patrons, yea, although he should never have any particular congregation to administer unto. Therefore well fare the Conform[ists,] for howsoever their courses are stark naught, yet they will own their errors, and not shift them off (as these do) by groundless devices, the which they can no more prove than that there is a man in the moon. They have laboured these many years to get away this power of making ministers from the b[ishops]; but seeing they are now out of all hope to gain it, they persuade the people that it is only but a leave and liberty which the prelates grant; and touching the ministry itself, they have it elsewhere. Oh, horrible mocking and abusing of the world! a mere invention of their own, having *no show or colour of truth in it.

* [242]

[*Fourthly.*] If the "prelates do not put them into a ministry, but leave them to be called or chosen by the patrons," then it must follow necessarily, that either they

are made ministers by those patrons, or else they are none at all. But this I will leave as another query. Moreover, because my desire is to come speedily unto some particulars with them, I do therefore demand some good proof for the things which this bold man here affirmeth. First. That "the people have committed this charge unto the fidelity of patrons." [Secondly.] If they have, whether the thing be lawful or no? And to give the reader, in the mean time, some information about the point, this I would have him to know, that howsoever here against us they plead for these patrons, yet in their writings against the prelates they tell quite another tale, for there they call them all latrons, and profess their places to be unlawful and wicked, and give many worthy reasons thereof. And no doubt this is true, which they say, for indeed the bondage is intolerable which the poor enslaved people suffer at these men's hands. If some one in a parish had entailed to him and to his heirs for ever, the power of appointing husbands and wives to all the people therein, the slavery were insufferable, although in a matter of a civil nature; but how much more then unspeakably great is their sin which lose this spiritual freedom? And greater those patrons which keep it, and greatest Mr. Bradsh[aw] and such fellows, who labour what they can to maintain so vile and wicked a thing.

Anatomy of
Cere. made
by Mr.
Sprint be-
fore Def. of
Pet. to the
K.
Learn. Dis-
cours. of
Eccl. Gov. p.
125.
M. Bright.
on Rev. iii.
p. 194.
Edit. 3.
Alt. Dam.
p. 170.

* [243] * [Fifthly.] Seeing he asketh what errors we can prove in their church, and is so audacious as to affirm that those set down by Mr. John[son]¹ are pretended, I will therefore give in some particulars (for it were impossible to name them all) published under their own hands, and professed of them to be the poisonous leaven of antichrist.²ⁿ

¹ An Answ.
to Mr. H.
Jacob's De-
fen. of the
Chur. and
Minist. of
Eng. page
63, 64.
² A Treatise
of the Mi-
nist. of the
Church of
Eng. p. 10,
11, 12, &c.
³ M. Gilby
in the Table,
Luk. xxii.
25.

ⁿ [In a work called "A Review of Antichrist, his Laws and Ceremonies in our English Church Unreformed,"

Mr. A. Gilby has given a table containing a hundred points of popery remaining, which deform the English

1. The popish names and offices of archbishops. 2. Lord bishops. 3. Their titles of primacy, lords, grace, &c., contrary to the commandment of Christ. 4. Their visitations and power which they exercise over their brethren. 5. Their lordly dominion, revenues, and retinue. 6. Their black chimere, or sleeveless coat, put upon the fine white rochet, with other popish apparel. 7. Chancellors. 8. Deans. 9. Sub-deans. 10. Archdeacons. 11. Officials. 12. Chanters. 13. Commissaries. 14. Prebendaries. 15. Apparitors. 16. Parsons. 17. Vicars. 18. Parish priests. 19. Idle readers. 20. Vagabond ministers of no place. 21. Chaplains. 21. Canons. 22. Petty canons. 23. Vergerers. 24. Rector chori. 25. Epistlers. 26. Gospellers. 27. Choristers, men and boys. 28. Singing clerks. 29. Organists. 30. Organ-blowers. 31. Beadmen. 32. Sextons. 33. Impropiators. 34. Ministers not made neither by election, vocation, nor approbation, agreeable to God's word. 35. Deacons, made to other purposes than the scriptures appoint. 36. The horned cap. 37. The tippet. 38. Surplices. 39. Copes in great churches. 40. The temporal offices of ecclesiastical persons. 41. A dumb ministry. 42. The pope's accursed canon law. 43. The prelates' articles and *injunctions* [244] from time to time newly devised. 44. The churchwardens' oath, to present to their courts all the offences, faults, and defaults committed in their parishes against the aforesaid articles, &c. 45. The court of faculties, from whence are had dispensations, licences, tolerations, &c. 46. Dispensations to eat flesh at their times forbidden. 47. And licences to marry in any time of the year, and in privileged places, by means whereof many are married without their parents' knowledge or consent; yea, and many stolen off-reformation. See *Part of a Register*, here gives an abstract of Gilby's table.] &c., pp. 59—74. D. W. L. [Canne

times from their friends, and so married. 48. Dispensations for boys and dolts to have benefices. 49. Dispensations for non-residents. 50. And for plurality of benefices, as they having of two, three, four, or more *totquot*, as many as a man will have, or can get. 51. Their institutions, inductions, proxies, &c. 52. Absolving the dead dying excommunicate, before they can have (as they call it) Christian burial. 51. Houselling the sick. 52. Private baptism. 53. Godfathers and godmothers. 54. The ring in marriage. 55. Bishoping of children. 55. Churching of women. 56. Prayer over the dead. 57. Lord's supper to be received kneeling. 58. Lent-fast. 59. Cross in baptism. 60. Hallow eves. 61. Ember days. 62. Fridays' and Saturdays' fast. 63. The hallowed font. 63. Marriage forbidden at certain seasons of the year. 64. The oath *ex officio*. 65. Apocrypha books, which have in them errors, lies, blasphemies, magic, contradiction to the canonical scriptures. 66. An antichristian discipline. 67. Private communion. 68. Their administering of it, not with the words of Christ's institution, but with other, taken out of the pope's portass. 69. Reading homilies. 70. Corrupting the scriptures, in mistranslating many places, adding to the text, and leaving *quite out many parts thereof.^o

* [245]

^o ["*Puritan*. I will justify any thing that I have spoken, if not let me lose my life; but, to conclude, it is late, and, because we must depart, I will tell you one thing, and I would wish you to make use of it, and learn what the prophet Isaiah saith, lvi. chap. and 10th verse, 'Their watchmen are all blind, they have no knowledge, they are all dumb dogs that cannot bark; they lie and sleep, and delight in sleeping. And

these greedy dogs can never have enough, all these shepherds cannot undertand:' and Zechariah xi. 17, 'O idol shepherd that leaveth the flock! the sword shall be upon his arm, and upon his right eye: his arm shall be clean dried up, and his right eye shall be utterly wasted.' And so fare ye well."—*Dialogue on the Tyrannical Dealings of the Bishops, &c.* D. W. L. last page.]

Many score of vile errors, besides these, I could name from their writings, but this is enough for the time; only I request the reader to observe the bad dealing which is here showed. The corruptions which Mr. Johnson mentioneth in his treatises, to be in the Church of England, are only such which he took out of their own books.¹ Yet see how they will bear now the world in hand, that these are but pretended matters, when indeed (as I said) they are only their own principles, set forth by their own hands, and justified still upon all occasions when they deal against the hierarchy. It seems, therefore, they are not willing that any, saving themselves, should say that their b[ishops,] their courts, canons, officers, ceremonies, service, &c., is anti-christian and unlawful; for if we say but word for word the same which they say before us, they cry out "pretended errors," and yet the things are true when they speak them. Now if this be not unreasonable daubing, I know not what is.

¹Namely, the Admonition to the Parliament. Sold Bar. Tabl. T. C. his First and Second Reply. Neces. Dis.

But he asketh, "how we can prove that these things are taught in their churches?" If a Papist should have thus replied unto one which had written against their transubstantiation, images, holy water, &c., it would have been counted an idle and foolish put off; for what if they be not always taught? yet these are their sins, in regard they both profess and do them, and have them established by law in their congregations.

* The like may be said of the errors forenamed, as * [246] authority commands them, so they are constantly practised, and upon all occasions defended publicly and privately. Besides, if any one shall open his mouth to show the evil of them, he is subject to be immediately silenced, suspended, excommunicated by the lords the prelates; and to prove this, let their terrible canons bear witness, for thus it is enacted:

"Whosoever shall hercafter affirm that the form of Canon 4.

God's worship in the Church of England, established by law, and contained in the book of Common Prayer, &c., is a corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful worship of God, or containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the scriptures, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored but by the bishop of the place, or archbishop, after his repentance and public revocation of such his wicked errors."

Canon 6. "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, by law established, are wicked, antichristian, or superstitious, or such as being commanded by lawful authority, men who are zealously and godly affected may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or, as occasion requireth, subscribe unto them, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored until he *repent, and publicly revoke such his wicked errors."

Canon 7. "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm that the government of the Church of England, under his majesty, by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest that do bear office in the same, is antichristian, or repugnant to the word of God, let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and so continue until he repent and publicly revoke such his wicked errors."

Canon 8. "Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, or teach, that the form and manner of making and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the word of God, &c., let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, not to be restored until he repent and publicly revoke such his wicked errors."

[*Sixthly.*] Where he demandeth "what one truth of religion we can name, that is not, or hath not been (when just occasion hath been offered) taught by some of their ministers?" Although this be not much material, touching the point in controversy, seeing none of them teach true

doctrine but in a false and antichristian calling, which is utterly unlawful to be done, notwithstanding if we will believe the Nonconform[ists,] he had small cause to brag thus of their preaching; for, first, their ministers *for the most part, are "ignorant asses and loitering, idle bellied epicures,"^p which either cannot or do not teach at all. [Secondly.] A number of those which do "are profane and heathenish orators, that think all the grace of preaching lieth in affected eloquence, in fond fables, to make their hearers laugh, or in ostentation of learning of their Latin, their Greek, and Hebrew tongue, and of their great reading of antiquities, when God knoweth most of them have little further matter than is in the infinite volumes of commonplaces and apothegms culled to their hands."^q [Thirdly.] Howsoever some of them deliver many sound truths,¹ yet they do not lay the axe to the root of the tree; I mean, seek to suppress such evils as reign most among them. We would repute that physician unwise which hath a patient under cure sick of a great fever, and he gives him a medicine which serves only to heal the gout or dropsy. Now, in truth, such unwise physicians are the best of them; for the main disease, which cleaves to the soul of the people, is false worship. But what course take they about it? Thus they do: they administer good things, to purge out pride, drunkenness, &c., but leave all the while this capital disease alone, by which means many persons perish, and are utterly cast away.

Now these have not the prophets for an example, for it is marvellous observable, when the ten tribes fell away from the true worship of God, that all those prophets whom the Lord then sent early and late after them, applied their doctrines

^p [II Admon[ition, &c. D. W. L. copy, p. 52 and] p. 47.]

^q [II Admon[ition, &c. D. W. L. copy,] p. 52.]

* [248]
II Admon.
p. 47.
Asser.
Christian
Ch. Pol. 236.

II Admon.
p. 52.
1 Out of
their own
mouth they
condemn
many times
their sinful
practices.
1 Sam. xii.
5.

* [249]
 † Read the
 prophecies
 of Hosea,
 Joel, Amos,
 and Micah,
 who were
 prophets
 especially
 raised up to
 recover that
 people.

even altogether (as it were) against the sins of Dan and *Bethel,[†] as the spiritual sickness of Israel was idolatry, so they gave them constantly such sovereign medicines as served best to cure the same. And, indeed, this course of teaching is only profitable, for as a small stroke downright upon the nail is better than a thousand besides it, even so a little home matter against the present evils of the people, as, namely, their devised service, false ministry, anti-christian government, &c., would profit them much more than all their loud and long crying out of judgment, judgment, only against swearers, drunkards, usurers, whore-mongers, &c., because the former faults are more generally committed, and have taken deeper root in the hearts of old and young.

[*Seventhly.*] Concerning the defence which he makes for reading their book of articles and canons in the church, a few words will serve in answer to it. [First.] If it were true which he saith, that they do not this thing ministerially, yet their fault is not the less; but he speaketh falsely herein, for this is laid upon them as a proper part of their office; and none else but they by their law, either do or may do the same. [Secondly.] If they do not teach them for truths, then it must be for lies and errors; if so, their evil is the greater, and proportionable thereunto, without repentance, will God's vengeance be upon them for it. [Thirdly.] His answer here is quite beside the point, and he seeks merely to cozen the reader; that which Mr. Johnson mentioneth is their articles and canons, very vile and wicked things by their own confession; to this he replieth, may not a man in* the weakness of his judgment and in infirmity, at his first entrance into a calling, conform and subscribe to some things not so warrantable and true, &c. Note, how punctually he speaks, and comes up as near to the matter as York is to the Land's End; a man

* [250]

in the weakness of his judgment, &c., may do something &c. Ergo, he may conform to the damnable canons and articles, read them to the people, &c. By the same manner of arguing he may be a Jew, a Turk, a heathen, any thing; and not only in this place, but such senseless shifts are common with him throughout the book; for whereas it is proved in Mr. Johnson's writing that their ministry is unlawful and antichristian, because neither their offices, calling, nor administration, is according to God's word, but (as they say themselves) all taken from antichrist. He childishly tells us that true pastors and teachers may want some accessary parts of their offices, &c. which answereth nothing to the point, nor is more to any purpose than if a convicted traitor would seek to prove his cause to be otherwise, for that he wants some accessary parts of a true subject. [Fourthly.] Touching the distinction which he puts between reading the canons to the people, and not teaching the errors contained in them. I shall leave it as another demand; how they can prove that these falsehoods and lies may be read in the manner that they are, and yet be neither taught nor justified?

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

["We [the Puritans] hold it as unlawful (as themselves [the Separatists] outwardly, and but in appearance, to join with idolaters in their idolatry."—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 69.

"Were the synagogues in Christ's time free from all parts of false worship? the scripture witnesseth the contrary."—*Ibid*, p. 70.

"Did they, when Christ came into them, forbear their assemblies! the scripture confirms the contrary."—*Ibid.*]

[*John Canne's answer to p. 68, &c.*]

Answ[er first.] If it be unlawful (as he saith) out-

From p. 68 to 69.

wardly, and but in appearance to join with idolaters in their idolatry, then hath he showed himself all this while an *unreasonable man to persuade us to return again unto their service, considering, if we should, it were upon their own grounds to join with idolaters in idolatry; but this we dare not do, neither I think would they if they did fear the Lord and his righteous judgments as they should, and mind advisedly their own writings. They have a long time been named professors, and fitly so, for truly their profession is good,¹ and therefore in this they and we do well accord, as I have before showed; but those which will be Christians indeed must be more than professors, to wit, practisers and doers of all the Lord's commandments, so far as they know, according to their power and ability.

* [251]
¹ When they write against the Prelates.

[*Secondly.*] I would know what scriptures there are which do witness that there was false worship in the Jewish synagogues, and of what kind it was; and proof also that Christ was present, where and when the same was practised. These doctrines we find often in their books against us, but to this day never saw their reasons for them; and therefore we are persuaded they are merely their own dreams, purposely taken up, to countenance by them, if they could, their insincere walking.

[*Thirdly.*] I cannot see what profit any reader can have by Mr. Bradsh[aw's] writing; for whosoever desires to know what ministers are true among them; first, he must (if he will follow his direction) search their laws to know what is there prescribed about this thing: afterward make diligent inquiry of the true meaning thereof; *then go among the clergy to examine whose office, calling, and administration is according to the law and the intent of it.¹ Now, is not he unreasonable to put poor people upon such hard tasks; notwithstanding, unless they do all this, they are as far to seek in the thing as ever they were, for any

* [252]

¹ Query. To whom must men go, to know the true meaning of the Law?

satisfaction he gives them. But no doubt, if Mr. Bradshaw had had a good cause in hand, he would have referred his reader to the prophets, Christ, and his apostles, and not used such carnal and idle talk.

[*Fourthly.*] He saith it is lawful to communicate in that worship where the ceremonies are used; but we cannot believe him, for his brethren both affirm and prove the contrary. And here now is a fit place to write down the words, whereof mention was made in page 99; partly, because the author is a principal Nonconformist, and partly to discover the rashness and folly of this inconsiderate man, which durst without any reason (more than boldness) still justify the very things which his brethren, by many sound arguments, have manifested to be evil and unlawful. Thus he writes:

“The sitter is accessary to the sin of the kneeler. First, he endureth the kneeler by his presence, and maketh him think that his kneeling is neither scandalous nor idolatrous. You say your sitting condemneth his kneeling; no such matter. But in communicating with him you approve it as indifferent, as when ye sit in time of prayer after sermon, when another is kneeling or standing; for shall you communicate with an idolater in the very * act of his idolatry, * [253] and not be accessary in countenancing it with your presence? If you do damn it as scandalous or idolatrous, why communicate you with him? if you build up that which you destroyed, you make yourself a trespasser. The apostle forbiddeth the Corinthians to converse or eat with a brother idolater, I Corinth. v., and yet you will eat and drink with him when he is committing the very act. The apostle forbiddeth not society with him in public assemblies, but only in private, and where he committeth the act, till he be reclaimed. Next, the communicant with the kneeler casteth himself into temptation by setting before him an evil

A Dispute
upon com-
municat-
ing at con-
fused com-
munions,
pag. 68,
69, &c.

example which may induce him to do the like, especially if the kneeler be a person of any credit and countenance. Many are disquieted with the sight of a monster or carcass many months after; it is an evil token when you can be so well content to see such a monster in our kirk, and your heart not rise within you; if you should present yourself to the mass in the same manner and with the same liberty, custom would so harden the heart that in the end you would halt with the lame, and conform in every point. It will creep like a ringworm; seemeth it now tolerable, the next day it will seem holy, and the third day necessary; so bewitching sins are idolatry and superstition. Thirdly, you are partaker of an idol feast: start not at this, I say, for the sacrament of the Lord's supper may be turned into an idol feast, and hath been a more abominable feast than ever was any among the heathens. *And howbeit there may be some difference betwixt the Fornalists and the Papists, arising upon the diversity of inward opinions and conceits of Christ's real presence in the elements, yet if both their gestures be idolatrous in their own kinds, the Lord's supper is made an idol feast. *Non ad diabolum pertinet quis isto, vel illo modo erret, omnes errantes vult quibuslibet erroribus.* 'It is nothing to the devil whether a man err this way or that way, whatsoever way they err, all that be in error he seeketh to be his.' Fourthly, the communicant advanceth this innovation, and setteth forward this gross corruption by his presence and communicating with the kneeler; for if the kneelers were left to themselves they would be ashamed of themselves, whereas now they are comforted and hardened in their sin, and some follow their example. *Fides pura moram non patitur, ut apparuerit scorpius, illico conterendus est.* "Pure faith suffereth no delays; as soon as the scorpion appears, it is to be bruised," saith Hierom. Fourthly, a confusion of gestures, lawful

* [254]

August.
Hom. de
Pastor.

Hierom.
ad Joannem.
Hierosol.

and unlawful, is brought into the Lord's table ; some sitting like guests at a feast, as Christ and his apostles sat ; others like supplicants kneeling and adoring upon the knees. This confusion is not like that variety of gesture in time of prayer, when some sit, some stand, some kneel ; for all the three gestures are there indifferent, but not so here."

If men are polluted by receiving the sacrament with those which kneel, then much more when withal they take it where the same is administered by an unlawful person, and according to a prescript form *culled out of the blas- * [255] phemous mass-book ; and this is their present cause, by their own confession. I wish therefore they would take due consideration of it, and speedily reform themselves herein ; they profess to be espoused unto Christ ; now mark the similitude, if a betrothed virgin, before the day appointed for marriage, should prostrate her body to a stranger, she disables herself for ever hereby from being his wife ; their marriage day, they make account, shall be celebrated in heaven ; but now, if in the meanwhile they defile their souls and bodies with the unclean acts of idolatry, what reason have they to think that they shall enjoy the sweet comfort and pleasure of so heavenly and blessed a husband ?

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

[“In a true constituted church some matters merely ecclesiastical may be imposed through human frailty, that cannot so be concluded . . . necessarily from the written word of God.”—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 85, 86.

“Every such human ordinance is not of that nature that it maketh the church and ministry where it is used to be a false church.”—*Ibid*, p. 86.

“Though it were generally granted of all *that every true visible church of Christ is such a spiritual body politic as is specially instituted by Christ or his apostles in the New Testa-*

ment, yet it will not thence follow that those churches are not to be communicated with all that have anything in, or appertaining to, the constitution thereof not instituted by Christ," &c.—*Ibid*, p. 86.

"Though every true visible church of Christ hath by Christ's ordinance power in itself immediately under Christ, to elect and ordain, deprive and depose their ministers, and to execute all other ecclesiastical censures, yet will it not follow from thence, that all they are false churches who do not, or by the laws of man are not suffered to use that power," &c.—*Ibid*.]

[John Canne's answer to pp. 84—92.]

From pag.
84 to 92.
See chap.
ii. sect. ii. 4,
and ch. iii.
sect. ii.
ch. i. sect. ii.
4.

Ans[er first.] Though it should be granted that, in a true constituted church some matters merely ecclesiastical may be imposed through human frailty, yet this helpeth their cause nothing at all; in regard, that a false worship, an antichristian hierarchy or church government, and unlawful ministry therefrom derived, is imposed upon and by the people slavishly submitted unto.

[*Secondly.*] Though every human ordinance be not of that nature as to make that church and ministry false where it is used, yet some are, or else there are no false churches and ministers in the world; and such human ordinances there be many in their parish assemblies, as from their own principles we have showed.

[*Thirdly.*] Though it were generally granted of all that those churches and ministries are to be communicated *with all that have something in or appertaining to the constitution thereof not instituted by Christ, yet it will not thence follow that we may with such, as in their constitution were wholly false, but such are theirs.

[*Fourthly.*] Grant this that all are not false churches which do not, or by the laws of man are not suffered to use their power; notwithstanding such congregations as do altogether want this power, and stand under that which

was taken every part from the devil and antichrist are certainly false, and so not to be communicated with all; and this is their present state if they speak truly themselves.

[*Fifthly.*] Admit that those may be true pastors who are outwardly by man's laws subjected to a superior^r ecclesiastical officer;¹ yet can it not hence be concluded that their ministers are true, seeing neither their offices, calling, administrations, &c. are agreeable to the word of God.

¹ But for this thing I shall expect to see some proof.

[*Sixthly.*] If the offices of provincial and diocesan bishops be contrary to the scripture,^s then necessarily that ministry which is derived from it must be so also; and this conclusion the Papists have drawn from the writings of the Conformists. "If our English prelates be no true bishops, then surely neither be the priests, or ministers, or deacons that be ordained by them; and so, consequently, the congregation of England is not the true church of Christ."

A Detection of divers Notable Untruths, &c. p. 188, &c.

Here we have again much rude scoffing and such crowing, (to use his own terms,) as if he were *some cock of the game that hath picked out the eyes and broken the necks of all that have been set against him. The proposition (saith he) is false, the assumption is false, the consequence is false: but for proof, a man may find as soon a needle in a bottle of hay, as any for the things which he boldly denieth. Moreover, the points in controversy which are of greatest weight and moment, he either puts quite off by a fine trick, "they need no answer," or else answereth to them besides the matter. For an instance to this purpose writeth Mr. Johnson:

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P. 83, 88.

Every true visible church of Christ or ordinary assembly of the faithful hath by Christ's ordinance,

^r [Unreasonableness of the Separation, p. 87.]

^s Ibid.

power in itself, immediately under Christ, to elect and ordain, deprive and depose their ministers, and to execute all other ecclesiastical censures.

But none of the parish assemblies of England have such power.

Therefore they are not true visible churches of Christ.

Both parts of this reason he proves from their own writings. Now mark his reply to it: "All are not false churches which do not use this power," &c. And is not this (think ye) wittily answered? We say from their principles that a true church cannot be without power, but their churches are wholly without it. For answer, he tells us, a true church may want the use of it. We say so to. But doth it follow because a man in a swoon hath not the use for the time of that life which is in him, therefore one may be quite without life, and yet not dead. To this effect he reasoneth, or else (as Paul saith of some) he understood not what he said, nor whereof he affirmeth, but spake evil of the things which he knew not.

1 Tim. i. 7.

Jud. 10.

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

["It is sin to separate from that ministry which is set by Christ in his church for the work of this ministry.

"But such is the ministry of the church assemblies of England.

"Therefore it is a sin to separate from it."

In "reasons . . . tending to prove that it is a sin to separate from the public ministry of the church assemblies of England, directly contrary to Mr. Johnson's own reasons."—*Unreasonableness of Separation*, p. 93.]

[*John Canne's answer to pp. 92—100.*]

* [258]
Answ. to
p. 29, 100.

* Mr. Bradsh[aw] having used all the wit and skill he had to refute the former reasons, in these pag[es,] in a mocking contradiction of Mr. Johnson, he undertakes to

prove that the public ministry of the church assemblies of England is true and lawful. I have neither time nor mind to follow him in his vagaries and idle repetitions, but will set down in few words the sum of his long talk, and give answer to it briefly. First, thus he saith:

“To have such gifts as Christ ascended to heaven [to give] for the work of his ministry; to be outwardly called to that work, by such a church as professeth the fundamental points of the gospel; to instruct the people committed to their charge in the doctrine of the law and gospel; to administer unto them the holy sacraments of Christ, and to be their mouth in prayer unto God, are all the things essential, appertaining to the office of true pastors and teachers. Such is the ministry of our assemblies.”[†]

Howsoever, I will not contend much with him about the proposition, which is lame to the ground; and a far better might have been framed briefly thus: To have such an office as Christ in his Testament hath given to his church, a lawful calling and entrance thereunto, and a lawful administration thereof, according to the said Testament, are all the essential, &c.

The assumption is false.

[*First.*] Their ministers have not the gifts whereof he speaketh, and so we have manifested from their own writings.

[*Secondly.*] I do deny that their b[ishops,] of whom they take their ministry, are a church in any sense, saving Psa xvi. 5. the malignant, and *therefore, if all the rest were granted, * [259] yet, hence would his whole argument (like the unwise man's house) fall to the ground.

[*Thirdly.*] Though they instruct the people in some Mat. vii. doctrine of the law and gospel, as do Papists and all other heretics, notwithstanding the reading of the service-book,

[†] [Unreasonableness of Separation, p. 94.]

in form and manner, the celebrating of marriage, churching of women, burying of the dead, conformity, and subscription are more essential to their ministry, and more necessarily required by the laws of their church, than preaching either of the law and gospel is. And so much Mr. Bradsh[aw] elsewhere affirmeth: "Those that yield to ceremonies need not preach at all in their churches, except they will; no, nor do any other part of divine service, if they will maintain a curate that will keep the ceremonial law, and fairly read or sing the king's service, as they call it."¹

¹ You must observe, he wrote this against the Bb. II Argum. ag. Cerem.

[*Fourthly.*] For the sacraments, they are (as they say) wickedly mingled and profaned, and wickedly administered. Besides, if we will believe Mr. Bradsh[aw] when he speaks out against the hierarchy, they have divers sacraments which are not of divine institution administered in their churches; viz., the cross, ring in marriage, surplice, &c.

9. Argum.

[*Fifthly.*] The prayers which they are to make unto God must of absolute necessity (without partial dispensation, or manifest violation of their oath to the bishops) be foolish, false, and superstitious.² ^u

² I mean when they read their service book. II Admon. pag. 57.

But I desire the reader to observe how wittily he confirmeth the assumption. "It shall be sufficient," (saith he) that we can set forth unto him such a ministry in sundry of our church assemblies, of which all those points may * be truly verified. Who would have thought that Mr. Bradsh[aw,] having blotted many leaves of his book with mere scoffing at Mr. Johnson about his logic, should so grossly overshoot himself in terms of reasoning. For what wise man but he would have laid down a position that comprehended indefinitely and generally all the

* [260]

^u [II Admon[ition, D. W. L. copy,] p. 57, [and I Admonition, p. 9 to p. 17.]

ministers of their assemblies; and to prove it saith, "we can show some such." It seemeth then, that those (some such) must make all the rest true. In truth, so he infers, or else his argument (as he saith often of Mr. Johnson) is cracked-brained, and lacks not truth only, but sense also.

There are some merchants who, to put off the false wares which lie upon their hands, will show the buyer a little that is good, and by this means cunningly shift all the rest upon him, and so deceive him. The like subtlety useth Mr. Bradsh[aw] here; and often in his book that he might persuade the reader to believe that all their ministers and churches are true, he showeth him some of the best, in hope that under these he shall craftily put all the rest upon him. I mention these his deceivable shifts the oftener, that we may have hereafter more honest dealing. If they will justify all their ministers and churches, let them say so directly. If but some few, as in their writings they still intimate, I desire them to speak it out plainly, and not to carry the thing so covertly, as if they would have the poor people to believe that they meant all, when themselves are persuaded the greatest number are false and antichristian.

* Another reason which he brings to prove their ministry * [261] lawful is, because "they profess the pope to be antichrist, renounce all ecclesiastical homage to him, and maintain all the members of the church of Rome to be heretics and idolaters," &c. To this I say, *quid verba audiam cum facta videam*. It is true I know many great errors of that church they oppose and have left, notwithstanding they retain the self-same ministry, church-government, service, courts, canons, &c. which they brought out from thence; uphold them still (I say) to the uttermost of their strength and power, and hate, revile, imprison, banish, kill, &c., those which will not conform thereto. And hence it is the

Pap. Supp.
an. 1604.
Reas. of
Religion, 13.

Papists say, that from "their treasure-house the religion now established in England hath learned the form of chri[ste]ning, marrying, churching of women, visiting of the sick, burying of the dead, and sundry other like, as the book (translated out of theirs) declared. So Jacobus Gretzerus allegeth against the reformed churches their service-book for their popish holidays, Dr. Tucker and their late book of canons, both for the sign of the cross, for kneeling in the act of receiving the sacrament; for, the whole hierarchy, from the archbishop downwards, and divers other their superstitions. So Cornelius Scultingius¹ citeth Whitgift, and taketh whole leaves out of him, for defence of their hierarchy.² Stapleton also useth the aforesaid Doctor's arguments, to uphold thereby their discipline; and professeth that they are built upon one foundation. I could multiply authors *of this nature,³ but it needs not; only let it be here minded that all these testimonies are acknowledged to be true of the Nonconformists. Is not therefore their profession great against the pope? They call him (they say) antichrist and the beast, &c.;^x yet notwithstanding, in respect of many

Panegyrr.
Missæ,
cap. 11, 12.
and De-
monst.
Dogm.
cap. 7.

¹ In his
Hierarchica
Anacrisis.

² Relect.
against
Whitak.
cont. II. q.3.
art. 3.

* [262]

³ Rhemist.
in Jo. xxi.
17.

* ["The pope is antichrist, even by our own confession: the adversary of God; Apollyon the destroyer; the man of sin; the child of perdition; the whore of Babel; the mother of fornication and of all abominations through the earth. This considered, what meaneth our *torpor*? We may not (forsooth) be so forward against the Papists, as the godly have been before us against the pagans. Oh, speech unworthy, because, making ourselves unworthy to be in the number of those faithful and blessed instruments who shall be called by the Lord to burn the very flesh of the harlot with fire, that no

footstep, remnant, nor relic of her may remain. Go, ye angels and blessed spirits, and (without us) throw ye Babel, like a stone into the sea. Go, ye fowls of the air and ye beasts of the field, and (without us) devour the flesh of her soldiers, and leave not a Jezebel's skull behind. Go, ye heavens, apostles, prophets, and saints of the living God, and (without us) rejoice in her ruin. Yea, go, ye warriors, faithful and chosen, and (without us) fight under your glorious captain against her, and make your swords drunk with the blood of her slain. While you are labouring that never candle shine in

main and fundamental orders and ordinances of his church, they walk along hand in hand with him; so that they are much like to one which calls a woman, "Whore, whore," and lieth with her all the while in the bed, and commits folly with her.

[*Bradshaw's affirmations.*]

"[I answer directly, (understanding by *officers*, spiritual officers) that '*the Lord Jesus Christ*' hath '*by his last will and Testament given unto and set in his church, sufficient ordinary officers, with their calling, work, and maintenance, for the administration of his holy things, and for sufficient ordinary instruction, guidance, and service of his church, to the end of the world*;' and that it is a sin herein to break his will and testament, either by depriving the church of any of these officers, or by bringing into it any other kind, with any other kind of calling or work than he hath appointed in the same."

"That notwithstanding this, the civil magistrate hath power to set over the churches of Christ in his dominions, com-

her again, we must nourish her sparkles lest her light be quite extinguished. While you cleanse and rinse your garments from her pollution, we must buy of her merchandise, and of the linen which she selleth to the nations. While you, like Sampsons, stir yourselves, and shout against the beast of Rome, (as against the greatest enemy that ever our good Jesus had upon the earth,) we must let our weapons down, and cool our zeal; yea, sound for parley, and think upon conditions of peace. We must even turn our weapons against our own brethren, as if they were worse than Papists; and, in favour of Christ's enemies, become enemies to the faithful soldiers of Christ; we must take the crowns of

our martyrs and surrender them to *parsons*, as if they were not as blessed now who die against Rome popish as those who died [striving] against Rome pagan in older time." "When the Corinthian thought it a thing indifferent to eat of the idolathite, what! (saith Paul,) call you that indifferent, which maketh you partake with devils?"—The apostle does not stop here with the Puritan, but adds with apostolical consistency, "Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing: and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."—II Cor. vi. 17, and *Parker on the Cross*, part i. p. 38.]

missioners and overseers which are not specially appointed by Christ in his Testament," &c.—“*Answer to Certain Demands often published by Mr. Johnson,*” given by Mr. Bradshaw, as the conclusion to his work, entitled, “*Unreasonableness of Separation.*” p. 100.]

[*John Canne’s answer to pp. 100—120.*]

ANSW. to
p. 100, 110.

Nothing is here said but the former things again repeated. Indeed, he undertook to answer certain demands, but he kept himself off so covertly from the points, that he hath left them far more obscure and dark than they were before. For this cause I have thought it necessary to propound unto them [thirteen] questions, all gathered from Mr. Bradsh[aw’s] shifting answers and idle put-offs, with request that they would answer them directly and sincerely, and from the scriptures; and so doubtless the controversy between them and us will be brought the sooner to an end.

[*First.*] Whether the office of lecturers in the ecclesiastical assemblies of England be not new and strange from the scriptures? If not, whether they be apostles, evangelists, pastors, teachers, elders, &c.?

* [263] [*Second.*] Whether the civil magistrate hath power to set over the churches of Christ in his dominions *such commissioners and overseers as the present hierarchy is, or no?

[*Third.*] What be those ecclesiastical officers which some true churches in England have these many years been without, either all or chiefest of them?

[*Fourth.*] Whether the calling, entrance, administration, and maintenance of any of the public ministers of the Church of England, be unlawful and antichristian, or no?

[*Fifth.*] Who are those ecclesiastical officers in the

Church of England which neither in name nor in deed are true as he himself confesseth?

[*Sixth.*] Whether it be lawful for the ministers of the gospel to be maintained by tithes and offerings, &c., in the manner and form as it is practised now in England, or no?

[*Seventh.*] Whether all the parish assemblies of England be true visible churches or no?

[*Eighth.*] Where are those churches in our kingdom from whence we have separated, which do consist, as now they stand, of a company of people called and separated from the world, and the false worship, and ways thereof by the word of God, and are joined together in the fellowship of the gospel, by voluntary profession of faith and obedience of Christ?

[*Ninth.*] What are those parts and parcels in the Book of Common Prayer which is not the true worship of God whereof he speaketh?

[*Tenth.*] Whether it be lawful to have communion *with * [264] the English liturgy as it is ordinarily now used in their churches?

[*Eleventh.*] If the true worship of God be prescribed in the book aforesaid, we demand then in what part thereof the same is contained?

[*Twelfth.*] Whether those which join to the ecclesiastical ministry, worship, and orders of their cathedral or parished assemblies in those things which are not performed therein, according to the true meaning and intent of their laws, do sin or no?

[*Thirteenth.*] What is the true intent and meaning of these laws, and to whom doth it properly belong to give the interpretation of them?

Thus having finished what I purpose to write for this time, I commend now the same to the best acceptance of

every well disposed reader; beseeching God to make us more and more of one mind in the truth, and to give us all hearts to walk sincerely in it, until our changing come.

ISA. xlviii. 18, 19, 20.

“O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments, then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea. Thy seed also had been as the sand, and the offspring of thy bowels like the gravel thereof: his name should not have been cut off, nor destroyed from before me. Go ye forth of Babylon, flee ye from the Chaldeans,” &c.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

A.

Confirmations of the statement on p. cxx.

So fully was the fact admitted in Canne's time, that the arguments used by Nonconformists led to Separation and Anabaptism ; that the following exhortation was addressed to members of the last-named suffering community by John Dayrell.

"And here, my dear countrymen, who lately are gone out from us, and become Anabaptists, I beseech you, consider of this *one thing* with me. When you first separated from the Church of England, did not you highly esteem and reverence the Church of Amsterdam, even as the dear spouse and body of Christ ! Would not you then gladly have had communion with them, if possibly you could, when you refused the same with us ? Did not, then, all of you assure your own souls that that way which then and still we call Brownism, was the only way of life : whereupon, in that way you would needs walk, come on it what would, imprisonment or banishment, life or death ? Did not, then, some of the chief of you in my hearing, magnify Mr. Francis Johnson, and their books, especially the Apology, above all books next to the Holy Bible ? And in all this you rejoiced exceedingly. How cometh it now to pass, that so quickly, not only our churches, but the aforesaid church at Amsterdam, is likewise become a harlot and Babylon ?—that you abhor now as much to have religious communion with them as with us ? How cometh this (I say) to pass, but because that which the apostle saith generally of all deceivers, is and must needs be in this particular true of you, *yourselves being deceivers* ; that you *war worse and worse*, deceiving and being more and more deceived."—*Dayrell, John, on the Church. Epistle to the Separatists, p. 6.*

The growth of these principles in those who entertain them, to which Dayrell refers is, with more urbanity still further explained by the following.

"Therefore, if he [Thomas Cartwright] will hear good counsel, let him lay his hand off our cause, which, by God's grace, we are able to defend, as well against him as against the Brownists; both which consent together alike, in defacing the Church of England, wherein his fault is singular, for that his erroneous positions give occasion of fall to others of weak judgments; for, this cannot be denied, if the discipline which they strive for be a part of the gospel, then is not the Church of England the true church refusing it; and T[homas] Cartw[right] striveth with his adversary and himself most ridiculously."—*A Treatise of Ecclesiastical Discipline, &c., by Matthew Sutcliffe*, 1591. T. C. L., chap. xv., p. 165.

"Wherefore seeing (my dear countrymen) that the disciplinarians have neither reason to uphold their platforms, nor colour to make so great brags, be no longer abused with vain words of men who neither speak for that they would have, nor comment that which they would still retain; but search out the grounds of truth, embrace godly peace, refuse fond novelties; and so the God of all truth, after this lamentable contention about order, shall bless us both with knowledge of truth, and with perfect peace, which God grant unto us for Christ's sake, who is the only author of truth and worker of peace."—*Matthew Sutcliffe*, ib., p. 166.

"That men upon this groundwork build the doctrine and practice of *separation*, is nothing so strange to me, as that all of that mind do not do so; for if these" [the ceremonies] "*be idolatrous will-worships*, how can, how dare they join with us in those acts and exercises of religion in which they are used? Will it be enough not to like them?"—*Dr. Burgess, in A Rejoinder to a Reply to Dr. Morton by Dr. Wm. Ames*, D. W. L., pp. 5, 6.

Unfortunately, the learned and diplomatic defenders of the hierarchy, during the age of our author, were not very remarkable for their facility in exhibiting the amenities of our faith, while fighting for their sect; the same may be said of all; but such as can bear the roughness of the conflict, may, by watching its movements, find, as, in the foregoing instances, many most unexpected exhibitions of character and truth. ED.

B.

Authorities adduced on pp. 4 and 5, relating to Elders.

"There is no church that can stand without her eldership or council."—*Ignat. ad Trall.*

"It belongeth only to the bishop to baptize, and the elder and deacon may not do it, but upon the bishop's license."—*Tertull. de Bapt.*

"Neither elder nor deacon have right, but upon the bishop's commandment (so much as) to baptize."—*Jerome contra Lucif.*

"Elders fell away through the ambition of the teachers."—*Ambrose upon 1 Tim. v.*

"After that Arius was convicted of heresy, it was decreed that elders should no more preach."—*Socrates, l. v., cap. 22.*

"The number of the elders of every church ought to be increased according to the multitude of the people."—*Bucer, de Regno Christi.*

"Speaking of the elders that were to assist the minister, he lamenteth that it is so fallen out of the church that the name doth scarce remain."—*Peter Martyr on Rom. xii.*

"There were elders that did assist the minister in the government of the church, &c."—*Calvin's Inst., l. iv., chap. 3, sect. 8.*—*Demonstration of Discipline, p. 53, D. W. L. copy.*

C.

Authorities adduced on p. 6, relating to the Deacons' office.

"Deacons are ministers of tables and not of holy things."—*Council of Constant., cap. 16.*—*Demonstration of Discipline, p. 58.*

"In the minister's sickness, the deacons shall read the homilies of the fathers."—*Council 5, can. 4, ibid.*

"The deacons have need of great wisdom, although the preaching of the word be not committed unto them; and further, it is absurd that they should do both the offices of preaching and caring for the poor, considering that they be not able to do both thoroughly."—*Chrysost. upon Acts vi.—Ibid.*

"Although (the goods of the church increasing) there were besides the deacons, subdeacons and archdeacons, yet the deacons remained still in their charge for the poor, and were not as yet mingled with the bishops or priests, and with the order of them who taught."—*Bulling., decad. 5, ser. 2.—Ibid.*

"The office of deaconship was religiously kept in the church until it was driven out by antichrist."—*Buc. de Reg. Christ. 14.—Ibid.*

"*P[re]s[er]v[er] Mor[tyr]* [on] Rom. xii. speaking of these deacons, lamenteth that this order is so fallen out of the church that the name doth scarce remain."—*Ibid.*

"*Calvin, Inst., lib. iv., chap. 3, sect. 9,* describing the deacons of

the apostles' time, saith that we, after their example, ought to have the like."—*Ibid.*

"Beza, *Confess.*, chap. 5, sect. 23. The office of distributing the goods of the church, is an ordinary function in a church lawfully constituted; the which, section 30, he calleth the deaconship."—*Ibid.*

D.

Authorities adduced on p. 9, on the Election of Officers.

"It is meet that you should have power, both to choose and to give their names that are worthy to be among the clergy, and to do all things absolutely according to the laws and decrees of the Church.—*Council Nice, Teste Theo.*"—*Demonstration of Discipline*, p. 31, 32.

"In an Epistle to Damascus, Ambrose, &c., saith, We have ordained Nectorius bishop of Constantinople, &c., the whole city decreeing the same: and Flavius was appointed bishop of Antioch, the whole city appointing him.—*Council Const. Teste Tripart. Hist. lib. ix. c. 84.*"—*Ibid.*

"When he hath been examined in all these, and found fully instructed, then let him be ordained bishop, by the common consent of the clerks and lay people.—*Council Carth. Can. i.*"—*Ibid.*

"Let not him be counted a priest in the church, whom the clergy and people of that city where he is, do not choose.—*Council Toletan. Teste. Dist. 50.*"—*Ibid.*

"If any bishop, after the death of his predecessor, be chosen of any but of the bishops of the same province, and of the clergy and citizens, let another be chosen: and if it be otherwise, let the ordination be void and of none effect.—*Council Gabil. Can. 10.*"—*Ibid.*

"The minister should be chosen (the people being present) in the eyes of all, and should be by the common judgment and testimony approved worthy and fit, &c., therefore this is the lawful vocation by the word of God, where those which are chosen, be appointed by the consent and approbation of the people. For which also he bringeth divers authorities out of the scriptures.—*Cyprian, lib. i. Ep. 3.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 31.

"That is truly and certainly a divine election of a bishop, which is made by the whole church.—*Ambrose, Ep. 82.*"—*Ibid.*

"Let the people have authority to choose their clerks and ministers.—*Jerome, ad Ruffinus.*"—*Ibid.*

"Antimius, choosing a bishop without the people's consent, filled all Armenia with sedition.—*Basil, Ep. 58.*"—*Ibid.*

"Therefore seeing the interest of the church in choosing their church-officers is granted upon the word of God, both in commandment and continual practice, both in the Old and New Testament: seeing it is warranted by the light of common reason: seeing it is commended unto us by the manifold practice of all ancient times, so long as any sincerely remained, not only in the time of persecution, but also of peace: seeing it hath been confirmed by so many general councils, and ratified by the decrees of so many emperors: seeing it hath such a cloud of witnesses, both of ancient and latter times of the last approved writers: seeing none do set themselves against it but the papists, or they that invade it only with the same weapons that are fetched out of the Pope's armoury: it must needs follow that it belongeth unto the church to choose their church-officers: and that the taking away of this freedom abridgeth the liberty that Christ hath endowed his church withal, and bringeth her into great bondage, as Musculus truly affirmeth."—*Ibid*, p. 33.

E.

The Argument of p. 97, with Canne's Scripture Proofs.

Our author's quotations in this case are too heavy for foot notes, and they are too important to be left in side notes only; they are here given therefore in full, and between brackets incorporated with his text. The point to be proved is in his own words, p. 90, that "*Every true believer is necessarily bound to separate from*" [the English Hierarchy,] "*and not upon any occasion to join in communion therewith.*" He has proved the truth of this affirmation—FIRST, *by receipts*—SECONDLY, *by examples*; and then advancing on page 95 to support his positions, *by reasons*, he saith,

THIRDLY.—The reasons are these:—

[*First.*] It sheweth that the love and zeal of God, is much in us, when our care* is to worship only in his own ordinances, and to leave * [89] the contrary. [Hezekiah "did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that David his father did. He removed the high places, and brake down the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses and Aaron had made; for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it, and he called it Nehushtan." "Thou shalt not bow down thyself to them, nor serve them; for I, the Lord thy God, am a jealous God." "Take these things hence; make not my Father's house an house of

II Kings xviii. 4.
Exod. xx. 5.
John ii. 16.

Psam. cxix. merchandise." "With my whole heart have I sought thee: O let me not wander from thy commandments."—Psm. cxix. 10.]

[*Secondly.*] Men offer a blind and lame sacrifice when they communicate spiritually in a devised service. Who would be so foolish [as] to carry "*trash and dung*" for a present unto a mighty prince, and hope to receive a favour of him? What is a false worship, but very *dung* and *trash*? yea, worse too; and therefore [it is] not acceptable to God. ["Ye offer polluted bread upon mine altar," &c.—"And if ye offer the blind for sacrifice, is it not evil? and if ye offer the lame and sick, is it not evil? Offer it now unto thy governor; will he be pleased with thee, or accept thy person? saith the Lord of hosts."—Malachi i.

Mal. i.

Rom. xii. 1, 2.

7, 8. "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service; and be not conformed to this world, but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God."]

[*Thirdly.*] So long as men are *will-worshippers*, it argues [that] they are unregenerate and wicked, and [that they] have not repented of their sins; for one infallible evidence of true conversion is to see the filthiness of idolatry, and to cast away the same with reproach

Isa. xxx. 22.

and disgrace, and to go from it as far as it is possible. ["Ye shall defile also the covering of thy graven images of silver, and the ornament of thy molten images of gold; thou shalt cast them away as a menstruous cloth; thou shalt say unto it, Get thee hence." "Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with me in white, for they are worthy."]

Rev. iii. 3.

[*Fourthly.*] To communicate in a false worship causeth pollution to the soul. If we would avoid that which would make the body to be full of scabs and boils, and so to be loathsome to men, much more should we detest this great wickedness, which causeth spiritual botches and sores to the soul, and so is odious before God. ["In their setting of

Ezek. xliii. 7, 8.

their threshold by my thresholds, and their posts by my posts, and the wall between me and them, they have even defiled my holy name by their abominations that they have committed; wherefore I have consumed them in mine anger." Rehoboam "ordained him priests for

II Chron. xi. 15.

the high places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he had made." "Say unto them, Thus saith the Lord God, in the day when

Ezek. xx. 5.

I chose Israel, and lifted up my hands unto the seed of the house of Jacob, and made myself known unto them in the land of Egypt, when I lifted up my hand unto them, saying, I am the Lord your God; in the day that I lifted up my hand unto them, to bring them forth of the land of Egypt into a land that I had espied for them, flowing with milk and honey, which is the glory of all lands; then I said unto them,

Cast ye away every man the abomination of his eyes, and defile not yourselves with the idols" [the calves] "of Egypt: I am the Lord your God."—Ezekiel xx. 5—7. "The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire; thou shalt not desire the silver or gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee, lest thou be snared therein, for it is an abomination unto the Lord thy God: Neither shalt thou bring an abomination into thine house, lest thou be a cursed thing like it; but thou shalt utterly detest it, and thou shalt utterly abhor it; for it is a cursed thing."]

Deu. vii. 25,
26.

[*Fifthly.*] By this means God's holy name is profaned. ["In their setting their threshold by my thresholds, and their post by my posts, and the wall between me and them, they have even defiled my holy name by their abominations that they have committed."—Ezek. xliii. 7, 8.]

[*Sixthly.*] Christ [is thereby] not suffered to reign as King over the whole man, but rejected.

[*Seventhly.*] Such service is done to the devil. ["Rehoboam ordained him priests for the higher places, and for the devils, and for the calves which he had made."—II Chron. xi. 15. See p. 229.]

[*Eighthly.*] The Lord hateth unspeakably all devised worship. ["The Lord God hath sworn by his holiness that, lo, the days shall come upon you, that he will take you away with hooks, and your posterity with fish-hooks."—Amos iv. 2. "And Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, took either of them his censer, and put fire therein, and put incense thereon, and offered strange fire before the Lord, which he commanded them not: and there went out a fire from the Lord, and devoured them, and they died before the Lord." "I will also stretch out my hand upon Judah, and upon all the inhabitants of Jerusalem; and I will cut off the remnant of Baal . . . and them that are turned back from the Lord, and those that have not sought the Lord, nor inquired for him."—Zeph. i. 4—6.]

See Parcus,
in Am. iv. 2.

Levit. x. 1,
2.

Zeph. i. 4, 5.

[*Ninthly.*] Wrath and vengeance, without repentance, [except they repent.] will be inflicted upon all the doers thereof. For society in sin brings fellowship in punishment. ["And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." "After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, shall ye not do; and after the doings of the land of Canaan, whither I bring you, shall ye not do; neither shall ye walk in their ordinances." "And Moses said unto Aaron, Go unto the altar, and offer thy sin-offering, and thy burnt-offering, and make an atonement for thyself, and for the people, and offer the offering of the people, and make an atonement for them; as the Lord commanded."—Levit. ix. 7. "As ye have therefore

Rev. xviii. 4.

Levit. xviii.
3.

and

ix. 7.

Col. ii. 10.

received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him. . . . Beware lest any man spoil you through philosophy and vain deceit, after the tradition of men, after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ; for in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily: and ye are complete in him, who is the head of all principality and power.”—Col. ii. 6—10.

[*Tenthly.*] In a word, let God’s purity and holiness be considered, and his charge given unto us, to be unlike idolaters when we perform public service unto him. [Manasseh “did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, after the abominations of the heathen . . . and he built altars in the house of the Lord, of which the Lord said, in Jerusalem will I put my name.”—II Kings xxi. 1—5. “Wherefore come out from among them and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.”—II Cor. vi. 17, 18. [For] “What agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and, I will be their God, and they shall be my people.”]

II Kings
xxi. 4. 7.

II Cor. vi.
16, 17.

* [90.]

And, *last of all*, if we join in no false worship, but *serve God according to his revealed will, then is Christ obeyed as our king and Lord, the reward whereof will be glory and immortal happiness. [“These are they which were not defiled with women; for they are virgins. These are they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. These were redeemed from among men, being the first-fruits unto God and to the Lamb.”]

Rev. xiv. 4.

The most remarkable thing to be observed in these proofs is, the vital and essential connection between the thought of our author and the mind of the Spirit. If the parallel places of these he quotes be found, the more they are studied the more fully will he appear not to have taken the mere sound and phraseology of scripture; but, by a deeply sympathizing study and careful criticism, to have reached the very soul of inspiration; and, as one who loved the spirit, subjected the whole operation of his mind to its holy dictates.

F.

On Dayrell’s leading argument, p. 218.

The importance of this argument of Dayrell is twofold: first, as it explains the writings and proceedings of his own times; and, secondly, as its light is thrown upon modern writings and proceedings of the present day.

Having been met with many forcible statements of holy scripture, his object was to prepare a diversion, by presenting at the outset a twofold view of the Christian church.

Using the word *ἐκκλησία*, translated church, for an assembly, he pleads that this is either *visible* or *invisible*.

The invisible church comprises the elect of God, or "the company of the elect." Those that are saved in heaven, and those that are militant on earth.

"The visible church," he says, "*is a mixed company, compounded of Christians true and false ; the greatest part being the worst.*"

P. 23.

"Religion," he says, "is the way or manner of worshipping God, which men do use," and, "The profession of the true religion maketh one a member of the visible church."

P. 32.

P. 35.

His chief object, therefore, is to prove that the state of a man's heart can be known only to God ; and that the invisible church can be known only by God ; but that the only thing in the case visible to man, and involving man's responsibility, is the "mixed company, compounded of Christians true and false," of which "the greatest part is the worst," and which, in his judgment, constitutes "*the visible church.*"

One might obviously remark that in the New Testament no such distinction is found as that which is here pleaded between the visible and invisible church. It is neither more nor less than a creation of modern controversy. The object for which it was created ought also to be observed : for when those scriptures which describe the purity, the privilege, the sacredness, the safety, the operations, and victory of the church, brotherhood, or body of Christ, were produced in favour of discipline or of separation, the answer given was, — All these passages, and the reasonings founded on them, refer not to the *visible church* with which we have to do, but to the *invisible church* which is known to God only ! Thus all the divine laws are swept away at one brush into a region which, being purely imaginative, affords no scope whatever for their observance. This is in fact the converse of Hooker's reasoning. He asserted, first, that divine law must govern everything in the church as in the world, and then laboured to make the laws of his church appear to be identical with the laws of God ; but Dayrell, on the contrary, gathers his rule from the violations of divine law, pleads that in the church there has been a "Saul," an "Ishmael," a "Doeg," a "Judas," and that the greatest part of it has been the worst ; and, therefore, the church ought always to have a Saul, a Doeg, a Judas, &c., and the greatest part of it ought to be the worst. By this subterfuge, the interposition of Almighty God, by which conscience, awakened by the call of mercy, and convinced to the point of

repentance for past sin and submission to the anointed Jesus, should, in many minds united by divine teaching and divine energy, with spiritual concert and fraternal co-operation, work out, in his believing people, the likeness of their Lord, for purity and moral power, and thus, to principalities and powers, and rulers of the darkness of this world, make known the manifold wisdom of God, was absolutely subverted; and the community of saints, through which all governors should be so instructed, is laid at their feet, in crippled, unclean, and contemptible dependency.

Modern writers have presented this monstrosity in a different shape. It being still required as an evasion of divine truth, this *visible* and *invisible* distinction appears now with a peculiarity suited to our times. When Dayrell used it to protect the manifold defilements of the hierarchy, the *visible church* and its *particular visible assemblies* were to be the most impure,—the greater part of their members being the worst; but now, the visible particular churches are to be the most select, and into the general church or kingdom any one, without distinction, may be initiated. Thus fiction follows fiction, aggrandizing with undefined deformities a spectral procession by which, in the darkness of this world, error and criminality advance to their dominion and their overthrow.

G

Canné's Appeal to Scripture, p. 219.

Mr. Dayrell's Allegation against Francis Johnson.

“But you will object further, that what you of the Separation hold is proved plentifully out of the word of God. I acknowledge, indeed, that you abound and superabound in your allegations of scripture. Never any man contending for lies did therein go beyond you, nor equal you neither. If hereunto we add their external holiness, we may safely say, that in no faction or schism that ever yet was in the world, Satan did more transform himself into an angel of light than in this. But what? Their scriptures being perverted, as the truth is, and so tending to the distraction of the reader; all this is but sheep's clothing, whereof Christ biddeth us to beware. Horrible and fearful is your abusing and wresting of holy scripture, and to some incredible. It had been well for you, if you had been more sparing in your quotations, then had you less taken God's name in vain, who will not hold you guiltless for the same unless you repent.”—*Dayrell on the Church, Epistle to the Separatists*, p. 5.

This heavy charge was brought so often, and, as in the above case, with so much gravity and boldness, that it required no ordinary courage and consciousness of integrity, in Canne, to face the stormy accusation as he has done on p. [197]. A source of convincing information on the subject before him is not supplied in all his work richer than that which is found in studying the references which are there accumulated. The point to be proved may be stated in his own words, and the proof will follow in the words of scripture quoted from his own references.

"Their *parishes* were at first constituted, as now they stand, of the *members of antichrist*, to wit, the idolatrous Papists, and of all other kinds of most monstrous sinners, as whoremasters, witches, atheists, swearers, usurers, cursers, scoffers at religion, &c. This *profane multitude*, without any profession of faith and repentance, were forced and compelled by human authority, in the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, to be members of their church, and so have continued, they and their seed ever since, *contrary to the express word of God*."

[For at Pentecost Peter said unto them [that were converted by his discourse], "Repent, and be baptized every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even *as many* as the Lord our God *shall call*."—Acts ii. 38, 39. "But when divers were hardened, and believed not, but spake evil of that way before the multitude, he" [Paul] "departed from them, *and separated the disciples*, disputing daily in the school of one Tyrannus."—Acts xix. 9. "Salute [he says] Andronicus and Junia, my kinsmen, and my fellow prisoners, who are of note among the apostles, who also *were in Christ before me*. . . Salute Apelles, *approved in Christ*. Salute Philologus . . . and Olympas, and *all the saints which are with them*." "Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them."—Rom. xvi. 7, 10, 14, 15, 17. [The Lord saith] "I pray *not* for the *world*, but for *them* which thou hast *given me*." "*They are not* of the world, even as *I am not* of the world." "Neither pray I for these alone, but for *all them* also which shall *believe on me through their word*; that they all may be one."—John xvii. 9, 14, 20, *passim*. Jesus said also, "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; even the Spirit of truth; whom *the world cannot receive*."—John xiv. 16, 17. "Thus saith the Lord God; I will yet for this be inquired of by the house of Israel, to do it for them; I will increase them with men like a flock. As the holy flock, as the flock of Jerusalem in her solemn feasts; so shall the waste cities be

Acts ii. 38.

Acts xix. 9.

Rom. xvi. 7,
10, 14, 15, 17.

John xvii.

John xiv. 16,
17.

Ezek. xxxvi.
38.

- filled with flocks of men ; and *they shall know that I am the Lord.*—
- Phil. i. 5. Ezekiel xxxvi. 37, 38. Paul said, “I thank my God upon every remembrance of you, for your fellowship in the gospel from the first day [of that fellowship] until now ; being confident of this very thing, that he who hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ.”—Phil. i. 3, 5, 6. “Then” [at Pentecost] “*they that gladly received the word were baptized*: and the same day there were added unto them about three thousand souls. And they continued *stelfastly* in the apostles’ doctrine and fellowship, and in breaking of bread, and in prayers. Praising God, and having favour with all the people. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved.”—Acts ii. 41, 42, 47. “And the hand of the Lord was with them” [that were scattered abroad] : “and a great number *believed*, and turned unto the Lord.”—Acts xi. 21. “Then” “Barnabas,” “when he came” “to Antioch,” “and had seen the grace of God, was glad, and exhorted them all, that with purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord : for he was a good man, and full of the Holy Ghost and of faith : and much people was added unto the Lord.”—Acts xi. 21—24.
- Acts xi. 21, 24. “And some of them” [in Thessalonica,] “*believed and consorted with Paul and Silas* ;” and “certain men” [in Athens] “*came unto Paul and believed.*”—Acts xvii. 4, 34. To his converts Paul said, “We being many, are *one body in Christ*, and every one *members one of another.*” “Be not conformed to this world : but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable, and perfect will of God.”—Rom. xii. 5, 2. “They” [the saints] “glorify God for your *professed* subjection unto the gospel of Christ, and for your liberal distribution unto them.”—II Cor. ix. 13.
- II Cor. ix. 13. God in his covenant with Messiah, saith, “Thy people shall be *willing* in the day of thy power, in the beauty of holiness.”—Psa. cx. 3.
- Psa. cx. 3. “For the Lord will have mercy on Jacob, [the inheritor of his covenant,] “and will yet choose Israel,” [the conqueror in prayer,] “and set them in their own land : and the strangers shall be joined with them, and they shall *cleave to the house of Jacob.*”—Isaiah xiv. 1.
- Isai. xiv. 1. “One shall say, I am the Lord’s ; and another shall call himself by the name of Jacob ; and another shall subscribe with his hand unto the Lord, and surname himself by the name of Israel.”—Isaiah xiv. 5.
- Isai. lx. 8. “Who are these that fly as doves to their windows ?” “All they gather themselves together, they *come to thee* [Zion the church] ; “thy sons shall come from far, and thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side.”—Isaiah lx. 8, 4. “This is the word of the Lord unto Zerubbabel, Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.” “The hands of Zerubbabel have laid the foundation of this house ; his hands shall also finish it ; and thou shalt know that the Lord of hosts
- Zech. iv. 6.

hath sent me unto you."—Zechariah iv. 6, 9. "And the inhabitants of one city shall go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of hosts: I will go also. Yea, many people and strong nations shall come to seek the Lord of hosts in Jerusalem, and to pray before the Lord. Thus saith the Lord of hosts, In those days it shall come to pass, that ten men shall take hold out of all languages of the nations, even shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, We will go with you: for we have heard that God is with you."—Zechariah viii. 21—23. In the light and hope of these and similar communications, Paul said, "Be ye not unequally yoked together with *unbelievers*: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? And what concord hath Christ with Belial! or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel? And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God, as God hath said, I will dwell in them, and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people."—II Cor. vi. 14, 15, 16. Joshua also said unto Israel, "Be ye very courageous," &c., "that ye come not among these nations, these that remain among you; neither make mention of the name of their gods, nor cause to swear by them, neither serve them, nor bow yourselves unto them; but cleave unto the Lord your God."—Joshua xxiii. 7, 8. "He that chastiseth the heathen, shall not he correct? Shall the throne of iniquity have fellowship with thee, which frameth mischief by a law?"—Psa. xciv. 10, 20. "Moreover," [the Lord saith,] "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone; if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother; but, if he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may be established; and, if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it to the church; but, if he neglect to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican."—Matth. xviii. 15—17. In obedience to this law, Paul saith, "What have I to do to judge them also that are without? do not ye judge them that are within? But them that are without God judgeth."—I Cor. v. *passim*. "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers," &c., "shall inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God."—I Cor. vi. 9—11. Hence, in addressing the Ephesians, he saith, "Paul," &c. "to the saints, which are in Ephesus, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus."—Ephesians i. 1. And he adds, that God "hath put all things under Christ's feet, and gave him to be the head

Zech. viii.
21, 23.

II Cor. vi.
14—16.

Josh xxiii.
7, 8.

Psa. xciv.
20.

Matth. xviii.
15, 17.

I Cor. v.
chap.

I Cor. 9, 10,
11.

Eph i. 1.

Eph. i. 22,
23.

Eph. ii. 11,
12, 19, 20, 21,
22.

over all things to the church, which is his body.”—Ephesians i. 22, 23. He adds, in addition, “Wherefore remember, that ye being in time past Gentiles in the flesh, who are called Uncircumcision by that which is called the Circumcision in the flesh made by hands; that at that time ye were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and strangers from the covenants of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world: but now, in Christ Jesus, ye who sometimes were far off are made nigh by the blood of Christ.” “Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow citizens with the saints and of the household of God; and are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord: in whom ye also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.”—Ephesians ii. 11, 12, 19—22.

It is scarcely possible to force into a more compact form or a smaller space, the amount of evidence which Canne’s list of scripture passages thus furnished to the reader who has diligence sufficient to find and read them. His texts prove that his position has been so taken, that look where we will, almost, the scripture will support it. He brings us by his argument into the heart of revelation itself, and, if we may so speak, into the high road of all divine operations. Few things can appear more awful than the affirmations of Dayrell, when contrasted with the evidence which is thus supplied.

H.

Second Appeal to Scripture, on p. 219.

Another exception which he [Mr. Dayrell] taketh against our description is, because we say, *a people called by the word of God*; this he denies to be true: and affirms that, *men may come to be members of the visible church, and not be called by the word, and therefore very unfily is it placed in the description of a visible church*, pp. 62, 63.

Ans[wer.] We need not wonder when a man undertakes to justify a bad cause that he useth ordinarily vile and profane arguments for it.

First. This which he affirmeth is directly against the *holy scriptures of God*. [“Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have com-

Mat. xxviii.
19, 20.

manded you : and, lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world, Amen.”—“The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul : the testimony of the Lord is sure, making wise the simple.”—^{Psa. xix. 7.}
 “For after that in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God ; it pleased God, by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe.”—“Is not my word like as a fire ? saith the Lord ; and like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces ?”—^{I Cor. i. 21.}
 Hence the members of the apostolical church were “born again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, by the word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever : for, all flesh is as grass, and all the glory of man as the flower of grass : the grass withereth, and the flower thereof falleth away ; but the word of the Lord abideth for ever ; and this is the word which by the gospel is preached unto you.”—“Of his own will begat he us, with the word of truth, that we should be a kind of first fruits of his creatures.”—“If there be a messenger with him, an interpreter, one among a thousand, to show unto man his uprightness : then he is gracious unto him, and saith, Deliver him from going down to the pit, I have found a ransom.”—^{Jer. xxiii. 29.}
 Hence of Paul and his companions it is written, “After he had seen the vision, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us to preach the gospel unto them.”—^{I Pet. i. 23}
 “So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.”—^{25.}
 “So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.”—^{James i. 18.}
 “So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.”—^{Job xxxiii. 23, 24.}
 “So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.”—^{Acts xvi. 19.}
 “So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.”—^{Rom. x. 17.}

[*Secondly.* This which Mr. Dayrell affirmeth is] contrary to all example in the Old and New Testament. [Thus Paul saith,] “And I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual” [which ye profess to be.] “but as unto carnal” [which ye profess not to be,] “even as unto babes in Christ,” [complaining that the principle on which their relationship was based had been so feebly developed.] And “The Lord had said to Abram, Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father’s house, unto a land that I shall show thee.” Peter also said at the Pentecost, “Save yourselves from this untoward generation :” and “while Peter spake,” [to Cornelius and his company.] “The Holy Ghost fell on all them that heard the word.”—^{I Cor. iii. 1-7.}
 “For the hope which is laid up for you in heaven, [that] whereof ye heard before in the word of the truth of the gospel, . . . even the mystery which had been hid from ages and from generations, but now is made manifest to his saints, to whom God would make known what is the riches of the glory of this mystery among the Gentiles ; which is Christ in you the hope of glory.”—^{Acts ii. 40. and x. 44.}
 “In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation : in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of”—^{Col. i. 5, 27.}
 “In whom ye also trusted, after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation : in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of”—^{Eph. i. 13.}

your inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory.”—Thus Paul saith to the Corinthians,

I Cor. iv 15. “In Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel:” and the whole nature of that commerce between an intelligible speaker and a respondent faith, on which the apostolical church was based is laid open in the following address to the Thessalonians:—“We give thanks to God alway for you all, making mention of you in our prayers; remembering without ceasing your work of faith and labour of love, and patience of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sight of God and our Father; . . . for our gospel came not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance; . . . and ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, having received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost: for they [the saints in Achaia] themselves show of us what manner of entering in we had unto you, and how ye turned from idols to serve the living and true God: and to wait for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, even Jesus, who delivered us from the wrath to come.”]

I Thes. i.
3, 5, 9.

[*Thirdly.* The affirmation of Mr. Dayrell is] wholly against the doctrine of his brethren and *fellow priests*, and the learned every where.¹

¹ Atters. on Phil. 10, pag. 205. T. C. 1. i. * [198] p. 51. Clev. on Prov. ix. 3, p. 11. Barn. Sep. Schis. p. 118. Byfield on Col. i. 6. p. 49.

[*Fourthly.*] The *scriptures which he [Mr. Dayrell] names, are both untruly and unadvisedly applied of [by] him: for, first, touching that in Exod. xii. 38, [“And a mixed multitude went up also with them; and flocks and herds, even very much cattle.”] Howsoever many *Egyptians* and other nations were moved by God’s works showed in Egypt, to go out with the Israelites; notwithstanding, that they should be all taken into actual communion with the church, it is only his *dream*: and no such thing can be truly gathered from the place: but the contrary is most probable, as I could (if there were any use) give many reasons for it: see Numb. xi. 4, [the mixed multitude that was among them fell a lusting; and the children of Israel also wept again, and said, “who shall give us flesh to eat?”] And the like may be said unto the place in Est. viii. 17, [“Many of the people of the land became Jews,” [not because they were one and the same people; but because] “the fear of the Jews fell upon them.”] And this also [may be] further added, how he knew (if any were received into the fellowship of the saints) that the word of God was not preached unto them by some means, in one measure or another before their admission? As for the other texts, namely, John ii. 23, [“Now when he [Jesus] was in Jerusalem at the Pass-over, on the feast-day, many believed in his name when they saw the

miracles which he did ;”] and John iv. 39, [“ And many of the Samaritans of that city believed on him for the saying of the woman, which testified, he told me all that ever I did ;”] and John vi. 26, [“ Jesus answered them and said, Verily, verily, I say unto you, ye seek me, not because ye saw the miracles, but because ye did eat of the loaves and were filled.”] This alleging of them, plainly notes, that his knowledge was not much in these scriptures : for,

[*First.*] Christ did not there constitute any visible church.

[*Secondly.*] The persons there spoken of were most of them members by birth of a true church.

[*Thirdly.*] Howsoever the things which he mentioneth as *miracles*, *reports*, &c., were great means to confirm the gospel, and to draw people unto the hearing of the word ; notwithstanding, the word alone^s was the instrument (God’s blessing going with it) whereby the people were brought unto faith and repentance, John iv. 42. [For they of Samaria “said unto the woman, Now we believe, not because of thy saying, for we have heard him ourselves, and know that this is indeed the Christ, the Saviour of the world.”]

^s Willet. on Rom. x. obs. 7, pag. 485. Elton on Col. i. 7. pag. 41. Scharp. Cursus. Theo. p. 6. Cent. Mag. Pisc. Aph. Loc. 18. pag. 101.

[*Fourthly.*] But wherefore doth he instance these examples ? seeing they are extraordinary, and therefore if it should be granted, as he [Mr. Dayrell] ignorantly understands the places ; yet it will not follow that there is any other outward ordinary means to call men out of the world, besides the word : now of this *ordinary means* speaks the *definition* only.

[*Fifthly.*] Observe how the exception he makes here against us serves nothing to help his case : for, if all the persons which he names were received into the visible church, and say it was by some other means beside the word, that moved their hearts to obey the Lord therein ; yet, how can he prove that these were “*outwardly wicked*” and “*irreligious*,” “known to be “*idolaters*,” “*drunkards*,” “*sorcerers*,” “*mockers*,” “*liars*,” “*blasphemers*,” &c. ; for, unless he can manifest this, if all the rest were granted, yet will it not stead him a whit, to justify the state of the *English church*, which was erected, after *popery*, (as he could not deny) of such vile varlets and unclean creatures.

It is therefore worth the noting, what ill speed Mr. Dayrell hath still in all his testimonies and witnesses : for, after he hath pulled them in at the “*window*,” or “*back door*,” by the *hair of the head*, yet this is *his cross*, either they stand up against him, or are quite dumb, and speak not a word, touching the point for which he brings them.

The rules of the Hanserd Knollys Society would not allow this work to be printed with the author's references incorporated with his text: but, from the examples thus given, the reader will perceive their value, and the power of John Canne in using the holy scripture. He, like his brethren, was charged with heaping up references in the margin that prove nothing; but, followed out and properly studied, his authorities form around his main position a defence so obvious and so strong, that no adversary has yet been able to break through it.

The following quotation taken from his side-notes, will show the advantage which our author had over his opponents, not only in appealing to scripture and to reason in support of his argument, but also in deriving the most direct and unqualified corroboration from scholars of his time, held in the highest repute by the Nonconformists themselves.

"Faith cometh by hearing, &c. Where, then, there is no preaching of the word of God, there can be no hearing; where no hearing, there no faith: this sheweth the miserable state of those people which want the ordinary ministry and preaching of the word of God. How can they but fall into the ditch, that either have no guides, or those but blind? for the scripture saith, *where there is no vision, there the people decay.* Prov. xxix. 18. Where are no prophets, ordinary or extraordinary, there the people must perish."—*Willett on Romans*, chap. x. observation 7, p. 485, ed. 1611.

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